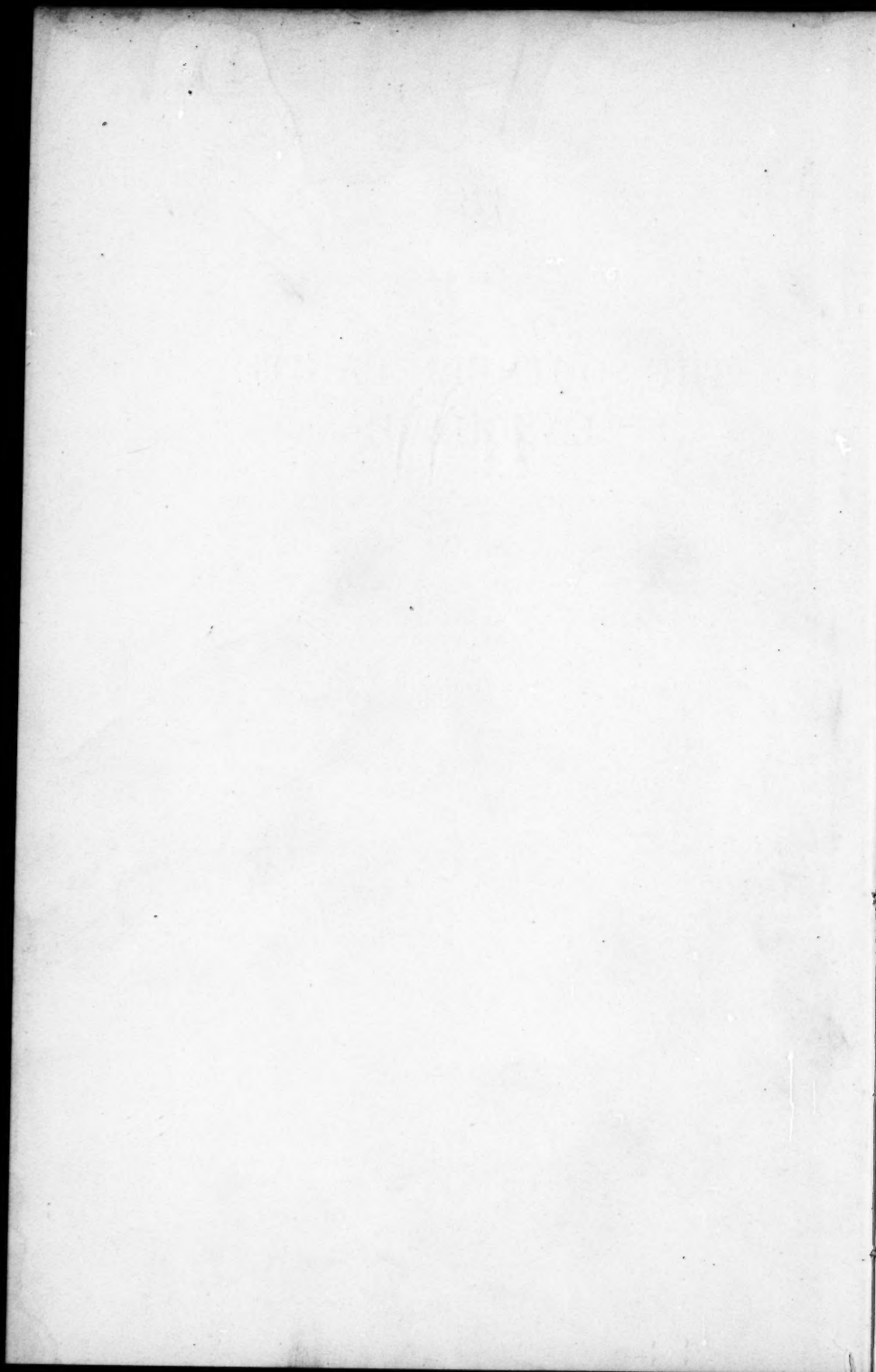


**THE SOUTHERN PAIUTE
LANGUAGE**

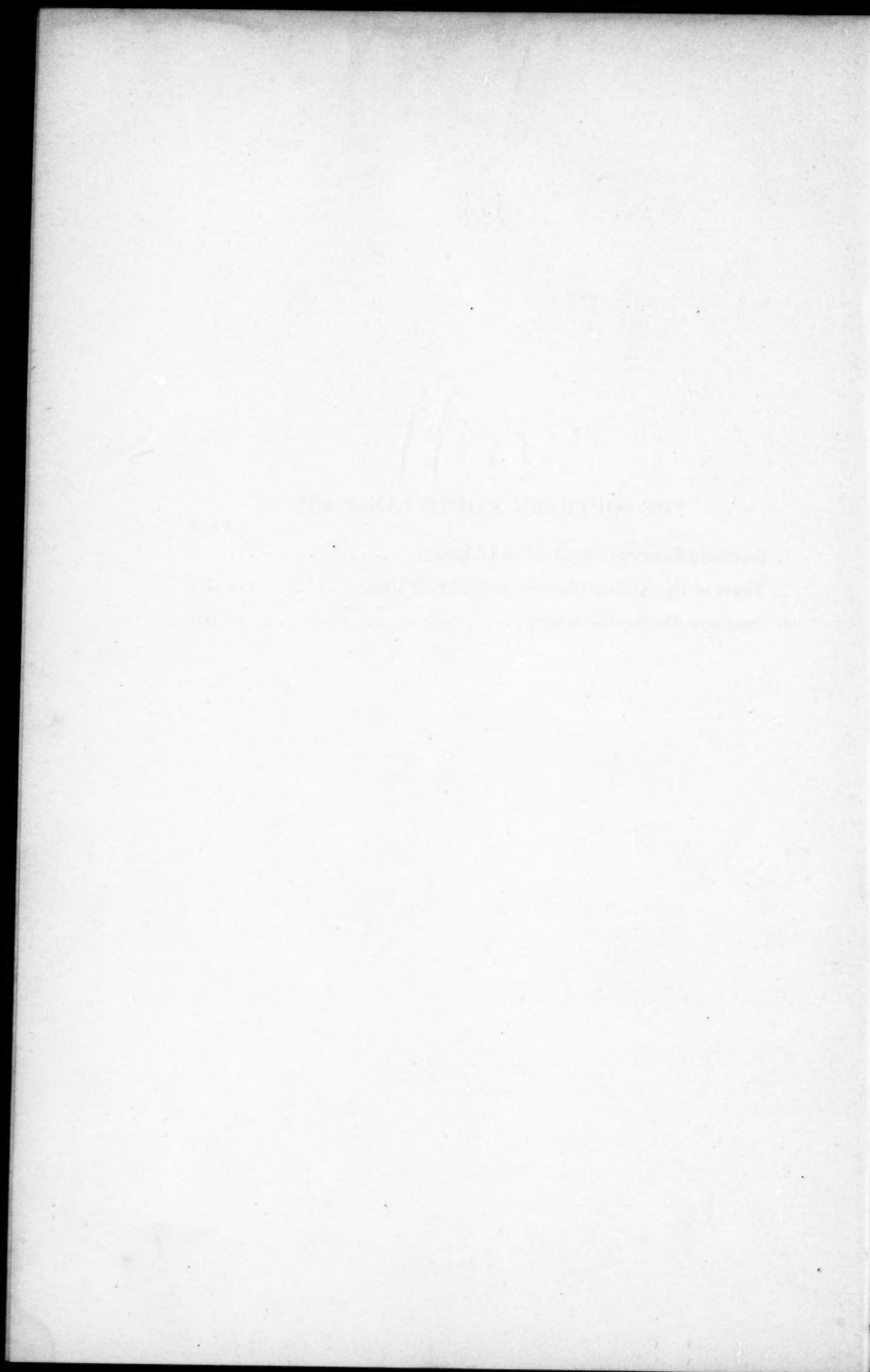
BY

EDWARD SAPIR



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SOUTHERN PAIUTE, A SHOSHONEAN LANGUAGE.

BY EDWARD SAPIR.

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PREFACE.

The following sketch of Southern Paiute, which was completed in December, 1917, is offered as a contribution to the scientific study of the Shoshonean languages. Whether or not it proves to be fairly typical of the whole group in phonologic and morphologic respects must be left to future research.

My first field acquaintance with Shoshonean linguistics was gained in a short trip during August and September of 1909 among the Northern Utes of Uintah Reserve, Utah. This trip was undertaken, with the collaboration of Dr. J. A. Mason, under the auspices of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. A number of Ute texts were secured, supplemented by considerable grammatical information. To extend and deepen the insight into Plateau Shoshonean linguistics then obtained it seemed advisable, indeed necessary, to undertake further researches. Hence arrangements were made by the late Dr. G. B. Gordon, Director of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, with the authorities of the Indian school at Carlisle to have one of their Paiute students, Tony Tillohash, put at my disposal for the ethnologic and linguistic study of his tribe. I worked with Tony, who proved to be an excellent informant, in Philadelphia from February to May of 1910. A series of texts, much supplementary grammatical material, a large number of songs, and considerable ethnological information were obtained. The Paiute linguistic data proved so much superior to the Ute which I had previously secured that I have decided in this sketch to limit myself to the former. Moreover, there is enough phonetic, lexical, and morphologic difference between Ute and Southern Paiute to render the attempt to describe both at the same time confusing. I hope to publish a briefer sketch of the Ute language at some future date.

The present volume is to be followed by a series of Southern Paiute and Ute texts and by a Southern Paiute vocabulary. It is a great pleasure to recall the unflagging patience and helpfulness of Tony Tillohash and the kindness with which Dr. Gordon did all that lay in his power to make these studies possible. My thanks are due Miss Jane McHugh, the Secretary and at that time Acting Director of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, and the authorities of the Museum for permission to have these Paiute studies published by the

American Academy of Arts and Sciences. To Professor Franz Boas I owe a special debt of gratitude for arranging with the Bureau of American Ethnology that I prepare the present paper, later transferred to the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, and for his more recent efforts in enlisting the interest of the Academy in the publication of my Southern Paiute manuscripts.

EDWARD SAPIR.

*University of Chicago,
Chicago, Ill.,
April 14, 1929.*

SOUTHERN PAIUTE, A SHOSHONEAN LANGUAGE.

§ 1. *Distribution and Literature.*

The Shoshonean dialect that is more particularly treated in this paper is Kaibab Paiute, spoken in southwestern Utah and northwestern Arizona. The name Kaibab is an Anglicized form of the native *qa'iva-vutē* "mountain-lying, plateau." The Kaibab Paiutes are only one of a large number of tribes or bands in southwestern Utah, northwestern Arizona, southern Nevada, and southeastern California that have been loosely grouped together as Paiute proper or Southern Paiute. The linguistic differences found in the speech of the various Paiute bands are slight. Paiute itself belongs, according to Kroeber's terminology, to the Ute-Chemehuevi branch of Plateau Shoshonean, a branch that includes, besides the Paiute dialects, the Ute dialects of western Colorado and most of Utah, Kawaiisu (spoken in south-central California), and Chemehuevi (spoken in southeastern California along the Colorado; the Chemehuevi are probably nothing but a Paiute band that have been subjected to strong Yuman influences). It is doubtful if even the geographically extreme Ute-Chemehuevi dialects, say Uncompahgre Ute and Chemehuevi, are not mutually intelligible with considerable ease. The two other branches of Plateau Shoshonean are Shoshone-Comanche (including Shoshone proper, Comanche, Gosiute, and Shikaviyam, spoken in California) and Mono-Paviotso (including Mono, Northern Paiute or Paviotso, "Snake" of eastern Oregon, and Bannock). Southern Paiute and Northern Paiute should be carefully distinguished; they are not dialects of the same language, but distinct and mutually unintelligible languages. Indeed, Ute-Chemehuevi differs from both Shoshone-Comanche and Mono-Paviotso in important morphological as well as phonetic respects. Thus, pronominal elements are suffixed (or enclitically affixed) in Ute-Chemehuevi, but prefixed (or proclitically affixed) in the other two branches of Plateau Shoshonean.

The Shoshonean languages, according to Kroeber, comprise four groups: the Plateau Shoshonean languages; Tübatulabal or Kern River, spoken in south-central California; Hopi; and a group of southern Californian languages comprising the Serrano dialects, the dialects of the San Luiseño-Cahuilla branch, and the Gabrielino

dialects. The phonetic, lexical, and morphologic differences between these four groups of Shoshonean languages are evidently considerable. All the Shoshonean languages, taken as a unit, comprise the northernmost representative of the Uto-Aztekan stock. This stock includes, besides Shoshonean, Nahuatl or Aztec and the Sonoran or Piman languages spoken in the long stretch of country between the Mexican state of Jalisco and the Rio Gila (among these languages are Cora; Huichol; Yaqui-Opata-Cahita-Tarahumare; Pima-Papago-Tepehuane-Tepecano). So far as is at present known, the Uto-Aztekan languages are not genetically related to any other American languages.

The published material dealing with the Ute-Chemehuevi dialects is scanty. We have some sketchy material of Kroeber's;¹ a phonetic study of Southern Ute by J. P. Harrington;² and a brief abstract on Ute by Sapir.³ Some linguistic material on Southern Paiute is also contained in Sapir's *Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology*.⁴ A comparative treatment of Uto-Aztekan, primarily from the point of view of Southern Paiute, is given in Sapir's *Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztekan*.⁵

PHONOLOGY (§ § 2-16).

VOWELS (§ § 2-8).

§ 2. *Fundamental Vowels.*

Southern Paiute recognizes five primary or organically distinct vowels. These are *a* (as in German *Mann*); *i* (as in French *fin*), which interchanges freely with *ɪ* (as in English *fin*); *u* (open as in English *put*, rarely close as in French *bout*), which interchanges freely

¹ A. L. Kroeber, *Notes on the Ute Language* (American Anthropologist, n. s., 1908, pp. 74-87); notes on Chemehuevi and Kawaiisu (pp. 256-262) in *Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 8, no. 5, 1909).

² J. P. Harrington, *The Phonetic System of the Ute Language* (University of Colorado Studies, vol. VIII, 1911, pp. 199-222).

³ E. Sapir, *Some Fundamental Characteristics of the Ute Language* (American Anthropologist, n. s., 1910, pp. 66-69).

⁴ Journal of American Folk-Lore, 1910, pp. 455-72.

⁵ Part I (Vowels): Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N. S., X, 1913, pp. 379-425; Part II (Consonants): American Anthropologist, N. S., 1915, pp. 98-120, 306-328, also in Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N. S., XI, 1919, pp. 443-488. Part III, to be devoted to morphology, is still due.

with close *o* (as in French *beau*); *ɔ* (as in German *voll*, but much less clearly rounded, hence tending acoustically towards *a*); and *ɪ* (high back unrounded, probably like *ao* of Gaelic *aon*). Of these vowels, *ɪ* is characteristic of most Shoshonean languages. It is often heard as a dull or muddled *ū* or *ō*, but is really not at all related to these vowels, as it is totally unrounded, the lips being perfectly passive. It is most easily acquired by setting the back of the tongue in position for *u* and carefully unrounding the lips without at the same time disturbing the tongue position.

Each of the vowels may be short or long. The long vowels are indicated as *aː*, *iː* (or *ɪː*), *uː* (or *oː*), *ɔː*, and *ɪː*. Diphthongs are common: *ai* (also modified forms *äi*, *ei*), *ui* (or *oi*), *ɔi*, *ɪi*; and *au*. Long diphthongs, e. g. *aːi* (*aaɪ*), *ɔːi* (*ɔːai*, *ɔai*), are also frequent. Such diphthongs, however, are only secondary developments of short diphthongs; no three-moraed syllables are allowed (see § 9, 1). Triphthongs sometimes arise when diphthongs combine with simple vowels, e. g. *aii*.

Actually there are many more than five vocalic qualities to be recognized in Southern Paiute. According to their vocalic or consonantical surroundings, each of these is subject to a considerable gamut of modifications, running from comparatively slight changes of nuance to complete assimilation to other primary vowels. The following section gives examples of all the types of vocalic modification that have been noted.

§ 3. Qualitative Vocalic Changes.

Many of the modifications here listed are optional; that is, they tend to take place in fairly rapid and uncontrolled speech, where complete or partial assimilations in articulation are particularly apt to occur, but may be absent in more controlled speech. Thus, one hears *i(y)a*, *i(y)ä*, or *i(y)ɛ*, all equivalents of a psychologically fundamental *ia*. It will be most convenient to list the changes under the five fundamental vowels.

(1) MODIFICATIONS OF *a*:

(a) *Palatalization*. After a syllable containing *i*, *a* is frequently palatalized to *ä* (as in English *hat*) or, still further, to *ɛ* (as in English *met*). This takes place particularly when *a* directly follows *i* (with or without glide *y*, see § 14, 2), or when *ɪ* intervenes. Examples are:

ʔi-a- this-at

ʔi'vā here; *ʔi'vā-n̄tīmanan̄qwa*
from here

<i>qani-wa-ntuɣwa-</i> house-to	<i>qani'wä-ntuɣwa-miçi</i> to their own house
<i>u'qwap-i-manti-</i> wood-from, some wood	<i>iwä'tci', iwe'tci'</i> way off, early <i>u'qwa'p-im-änti, -m-enti</i> some wood
<i>pi(y)a-</i> mother	<i>piyü'ruɣwaçi</i> to his own mother; <i>piye'ni</i> my mother

Much less frequently *a*, standing between a syllable with *i* and a following *y*, may be still further palatalized to close *e*:

<i>aiva(i)ya-</i> companion	<i>a'ive(y)aywianA</i> his companions
-----------------------------	---------------------------------------

(b) *Dulling to α*. Dulling to *α* (like *u* of English *but*) is extremely common, particularly in unaccented syllables. It seems to take place chiefly before or after nasal consonants (*m*, *n*, *ŋ*):

<i>-ya-nfi-</i> being	<i>'ontco'ɣiχanti</i> with one eye lacking
<i>-n-a-</i> verbal abstract suffix	<i>ɔra'wa-n-ani</i> what I shall dig
<i>m^wa-ŋa-</i> that (anim.)	<i>m^waŋ'a'q-A</i> that is the one

(c) *Labialization*. Rather infrequently *a* is darkened to *ω* (acoustically midway between *a* and *ɔ*) in partial assimilation to an *ɔ* of the preceding or following syllable; this *ω* was not always carefully distinguished in recording from *ɔ*:

<i>qaa'mpüts</i> grouse	<i>aɣɔ'ŋqampüts</i> fir-grouse
<i>tɔc-a-</i> white > <i>tɔ'ca'-</i> , <i>tɔha'-</i> (§ 13, 1, b)	<i>t'hw'p-a(i)ɣampats</i> white-breasted, gull (also recorded as normal <i>tɔ'ca'p-a(i)ɣampats</i>)

Further labialization to *ɔ* takes place very frequently after labialized gutturals (*qw*, *ɣw*, *ŋqw*), *wɔ* being often simplified to *ɔ*:

<i>-q-a-</i> plural subject; combines with preceding <i>-ru-</i> to <i>-ru'q-wa-</i> or <i>-RUqwa'-</i>	<i>nanti'navuɣwɔp-ɣaiyanA</i> several tracked him back and forth
<i>-ɣw'ai-</i> to go in order to	<i>quwca'ɣw'ɔip-ɣa'</i> went to defecate
<i>piy'χwa-</i> to drag	<i>piyɔ'χɔm'muaxa'</i> while dragging along
<i>-wi-nanqwa-p-a-</i> behind	<i>uw^wi'nanq(w)ɔp-A</i> behind it
<i>-q-wa'ai-</i> to go	<i>payi'k-wɔ'ɔip-ɣa'</i> went home

(2) MODIFICATIONS OF *i* (alternating with *ɪ*, more rarely *e*):

(a) *Diphthongization to ai, ɔi*. This occurs pretty regularly after gutturals (*q, ɣ, ʔq*) immediately preceded by *a* and *ɔ* respectively. *ai* is quite frequently heard as *äi, ei* or as *ʔi, ʔi* with rather fleeting glide-like *a* or *ɛ*; *ʔi* is sometimes heard still further reduced to *ɪ* (see b). After *a* + labialized guttural *i* > *ai* may be labialized to *ɔi, ʔi* (cf. 1, c). These diphthongs are not treated as organically such, but regularly count in accentual phenomena as simple vowels (see § 9). Examples are:

<i>paɣi-</i> to walk (e.g. in <i>pa'x'ɪqwa'ai-</i> <i>tcəŋA</i> he went away)	<i>paɣa'iqw'ai'</i> walks off; <i>paɣäi'-</i> <i>nʷNUʔqwp-ɪɣa'</i> started to walk; <i>paɣi'-q-wa'a</i> go away; <i>paɣi'n-a-ŋwɪnu-p-aɣi-yi</i> cloud stands up and walks (sixth and seventh syllables)
<i>-ɣi-</i> durative iterative suffix	<i>qu'pa'ra-ɣeik'ai'</i> several pop one after another
<i>tcəq-i-</i> to stop (rolling)	<i>tcAʔqa'ip-ɪɣa'</i> stopped rolling; <i>tcAʔqɪ'yiaqA</i> it stops
<i>tsɪŋwaxɪ-</i> to stick in several (e.g. in <i>tsɪŋwa'x'ɪkaiyiam'</i> they are stuck in)	<i>tsɪtsɪ'ŋwaxaimipɪɣaini'</i> all kept on as though stuck; <i>tsɪtsɪŋwaxa'i'-</i> <i>p-ɪɣain-i'</i> all went in as though stuck; <i>tsɪŋwa'xi'</i> sticks several in
<i>mam-a'caɣwi-</i> old woman	<i>mam-a'caɣwɪtsɪ,</i> - <i>caɣwɪtsɪ</i> old woman
<i>tɔɣi-, tɔɣwi-</i> just, precisely	<i>tɔɣo'iaruq-wa-x-i</i> right under it; <i>tɔɣo'it-uywanu</i> midnight

tɔɣo'i- not infrequently even loses its *i* and appears as *tɔɣo'-* (e.g. *tɔɣo'mA'cūŋwɪyU* TEN), but such recorded forms as *tɔɣw'i'anaruq-wA* RIGHT UNDER HIM and *tɔɣi'm-ava'ana* RIGHT ABOVE THAT prove clearly that the second *ɔ* is inorganic.

(b) *Dulling to i, ɪ*. After *ts*, *i* is regularly dulled to *i*, a high unrounded "mixed" vowel (to use Sweet's terminology) that sounds acoustically midway between *ɪ* and *ɪ*. It has been often recorded simply as *ɪ*, sometimes also, though exaggeratedly, as *ɪ*. Examples are:

<i>-tsi-</i> diminutive	<i>tiŋqa'nwɪatsɪaɸi</i> his own little cave (obj.)
-------------------------	---

-tsi- gerund

pa²qa'ηtsi'ηwa having killed him; pīn-i'awwa-tsi'q-wa being about to lie down and watch it

tsi- with the point of a stick-like object

tsiyu'm'muxwiyīni is poking me; tsi'ni'k-īpīya' stuck (one object)

More rarely *i* is gutturalized to *ĩ*, *i* after guttural consonants (*q*, *γ*, *x*, *ηq*), cf. (a) above:

-xi- to come in order to

tōa'xiyāηa he comes to punch

-q-i- hither

ya'q'īyag-a bring it

waq-i- hither + -ηki- to come

wa²qi'ηkixuαηa as he came

(c) *Consonantizing before nasals*. When standing before *n* or *η* and coming after *ts* (sometimes modified to *t*; see §13, 7, a), less often after *q*, *i* not infrequently loses its vocalic character altogether and assimilates to the following nasal, becoming syllabic *ɲ* or *ŋ* (cf. English *kā'zŋ* from *cousin*):

-tsi- gerundive + -ni- I

qa'va-tŋni being about to sing, I

-tsi- diminutive + -ni- my

wi'tsi't-ŋni my great-grandchild

(d) *Consonantizing to y*. Rather infrequently the combination *i* + vowel, via *i* + glide *y* + vowel, simplifies to *y* + vowel, e. g.:

i(y)ā'nu- present here

yā'nu-

compare u(w)a'nu- PRESENT THERE > wa'nu- (see 5, a).

(3) MODIFICATIONS OF *ĩ*:

(a) *Assimilation to i*. Not too frequently an *ĩ* is assimilated to the *i* of a following syllable or, as *i*, to an immediately following *y*. Long *ĩ* is then apt to dissolve to *ĩi*, *ĩ'*. Examples are:

ĩi'ηwĩ- to be in a hurry

ĩi'ηwin-i' hurriedly

qwĩĩ- to take

qwĩ'qwĩ'i' takes several times
(< qwĩq-wĩ'i-yĩ-)

-mĩ- after

ɣni'k-ayumĩ'ts- after they had done so (< -mĩ-tsi-)

ĩv'ĩ- hortatory adverb

ĩv'ĩ'n-ia^a hurry up thou!

ĩv'ĩ'yani go ahead ye me! (contrast *ĩv'ĩ'ni* go ahead thou me!)

ĩiηwi-n-ia-, *ĩv'ĩ-n-ia-* and *ĩv'ĩ-ya-* regularly so appear, never with second *ĩ*, *ĩ'*.

(b) *Palatalization to i, ɛ.* After *c* and *tc*, *ɪ* often loses its extreme backward articulation, passing into *i* and even (at least so frequently recorded) *ɛ*. This secondary *ɛ*, however, must never be confused with primary *i, ɛ*; unlike it, e. g., it cannot palatalize guttural or dental consonants (see § 13, 4; § 13, 3). Examples are:

cinaŋwavi- coyote
watci- to put

pitci- to arrive

cina'ŋwaɸɪ, cina'ŋwaɸɪ coyote
watci'm'ɪaɸ-ɪɣa' (he) put while
going along

pi'pɪ'tciɪ arriving

Note, e. g., that if the *-tcɪ-* of the last form were primary, not modified from *-tcɪ-*, it would have changed the participial *-ɪ* to *-tcɪ* (see § 13, 3).

Dental consonants (*t, r, nt, n*) also frequently modify an immediately following *ɪ* to *i, ɛ*. Indeed an *i* or *ɛ* following *t, r*, or *nt* is practically always modified from an original *ɪ*, as an old primary *i* has regularly assimilated these consonants (see § 13, 3). Examples are:

nɪŋwi'a- part of body

fiq'a- to eat

marin'a- to chase

nɪŋwi'a(i)ɣa-ŋa parts of his
body (obj.)

tɪ'tɪ'q'a(i)ɣɪnɪ I eat several
times

mam'a'ɪnaɸ-ɪɣa'aɪŋwa several
chased him

Less frequently *yɪ* becomes modified to *yi, yu*; e. g. *pa(i)yɪ-* TO RETURN > *pa(i)yi-, pa(i)yu-*. As might be expected from its position, *ɪ* is best preserved after guttural consonants, e. g. *paɣɪ'* FISH.

(c) *Dulling to ɪ.* If *ɪ* is frequently recorded by students as an obscure *ü*, the nuance *ɪ* tends to be heard as an obscure *ö*. It is possible, indeed, that *ɪ* is pronounced with slight inner rounding, as it appears chiefly in labial surroundings. It is a "wide" vowel, *ɪ* being "narrow"; it is probably also slightly lower in articulation than *ɪ*. Though *ɪ* is a difficult vowel to define, it represents a nuance clearly distinct from that of *ɪ*. Acoustically it may be described as a duller form of *ɪ*, tending to be heard both as *u* and *α*.

After labial consonants (*p, v, mp, m*; less often *w*) the change of *ɪ* to *ɪ* is regular, less regularly before them:

pɪ- relative pronoun

-vɪ- one's own

-mpɪ- plant suffix

pɪv'a' wherein

qanɪ'aɸɪ one's own house (obj.)

ɔɣɔ'mɪ fir

mīyī- gopher
īmpn'na- to paint

mīyī'ḡḡanūḡ gopher house
īmp'n'nai' paints

Rarely *qwi* simplifies to *qū*:
qwi'(i)'nuk'ai- to strut out
 one's breast

qū'(i)'nī²k'ai' struts out (his)
 breast

This is analogous to the change of *qwa* to *qwo*, *qo* (see 1, c).

(d) *Labialization*. When coming before a nasal consonant followed by a labial consonant or vowel (e. g. *mp*, *ḡw*, *ḡu*), *i*, in its frontal modification *ī*, is further developed to a corresponding slightly rounded vowel *ü*, acoustically midway between *i* and the true high-front-rounded *ū*. Our *ü* is probably only inner-rounded and not articulated as far front as the standard *ū*; often it sounds like a rapid diphthongal *iü* or *iū*. Examples are:

tīmpa- mouth
patei- daughter
mīa'ḡantī- mountain divide

tümpa'ni my mouth
pateü'ḡwīaḡa his daughters
mīa'ḡantümpa' at mountain divide

pa(i)yī- to return
tī- stone (e. g. in *tīḡḡa'ni*, *tḡḡa'ni*
 cave)

pa(i)yü'ḡupīḡa' returned
tümpī'ts stone

A somewhat similar quality, yet slightly more rounded and retracted, probably equivalent to the standard *ū* (high-mixed-rounded-wide), sometimes develops from *ī* (see c above) before nasal + guttural or labial or before nasal + *i*:

pīḡḡa- habitually
pī- relative pronoun
pīn-i- to see

pūḡḡa- habitually
pūḡwā'ntux-wa on whom
pūn-i'pīḡa' saw

This quality was generally recorded as simply *ü* (too far front) or *ī* (too far back). For practical purposes *ī* does well enough.

A still stronger degree of labialization is attained by *ī* when it stands before *v^w* or *ḡw*. This quality has been generally recorded as *u*, i. e. *v*, but it is rather flabbier in sound than the true rounded open *u* (varying with *o*). Examples are:

am-ī- they
ma-vī- clothes

am-u'v^wantux-wa upon them
ma-v'uḡwa his clothes

The same modification occurs in *ḡwī*, which frequently loses its *w* (cf. 1, c; 3, c), before *ḡw* or *m*:

- <i>ŋwī</i> animate plural	<i>a'ivaiaŋuŋwa'aiφī</i> with his own companions; <i>naŋi'm'aŋuŋuc-u</i> strangers-to-each-other you (pl.) (< <i>naŋim'a-ŋwī-ŋwī-c-u-</i>)
- <i>ŋwī-</i> you (pl.) subjective	- <i>ŋumi-</i> you (pl.) objective (< - <i>ŋwī-mi-</i>)

(e) *Assimilation to ɔ*. This and the following modification (f) differ from the labializations spoken of under (d) in that they represent complete and regularly occurring assimilations. Before a syllable containing *ɔ*, *i* appears assimilated to *ɔ*:

<i>wīŋi-</i> vulva + <i>ɔ'paq-i- nA</i> hole	<i>wīŋɔ'ɔ'paq-inA</i> vagina
<i>qari'n-impī-</i> saddle + <i>tɔ'tsi-</i> head	<i>qari'n-impɔɔtsid'</i> saddle horn

Less regularly *i* is assimilated to a preceding *ɔ*:

- <i>nīmi</i> our (exclusive)	<i>aŋɔ'nōmi</i> our tongue
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(f) *Assimilation to u* (*o*). Before a syllable containing *u* (*o*), *i* assimilates to *u* (*o*):

<i>tīŋiavī-</i> deer hide	<i>tīŋi'avuru-</i> to make a deer hide
<i>cuwa'p-utci-</i> to wake up (intr.)	<i>cuwa'p-utcu'ui-</i> to wake up (tr.)
<i>am-i-</i> they	<i>am-u'ura'</i> towards them;
	<i>am-v'wa'mi</i> in front of them
	(< <i>am-i-</i> + <i>-uwa'mi-</i>)
- <i>yī-</i> present tense + <i>-ru'a-</i> interrogative	<i>puwa'ru'a(i)yuru'ōni</i> am I becoming a medicine-man?

This assimilation takes place also after a syllable containing *u* (*o*):

- <i>ru</i> to make + <i>-yī-</i> present tense	<i>a(i)ya'ruyuni</i> I make a turtle
- <i>ŋim'aŋwat-uŋwa-</i> away from	<i>uŋu'm'aŋwat-ux-wA</i> away from it
- <i>yī-</i> + <i>-n'oa-</i> modal enclitic	<i>uwa't-uŋwat-u'a(i)yon-ōA</i> somebody is walking in that direction

Only infrequently does *i* fail to assimilate to *u*. This seems to occur sometimes when a glottal stop separates the vowels, e. g.

nī'u'nantux-wA OPPOSITE TO ME; *yī'u-*, *yū'u-* LEG, more often *yū'u-*, *yō'o-*.

(g) *Consonantizing before nasals*. This takes place, though less frequently, under the same circumstances as the analogous consonantizing of *i* (see 2, c above), but after a *c*:

'ac'ĩntu'i- to like

'a'c'ptu'i- to like

(4) MODIFICATIONS OF *ɔ*:

(a) *Semi-unrounding*. Between two *a*-vowels an *ɔ* is sometimes semi-unrounded and dulled in quality to a sound approximating that of *a* itself. This quality appears to be identical with that of the *ω* referred to above (1, c). Examples are:

ɔaγɪt-ɯγwa- around
ɔa- back

aω'aγɪt-ɯx-wA around it
pɪʔka'ωaγaɪp-ĩγa' had a sore
back

(b) *Palatalization*. Rather infrequently we find *ɔ* palatalized or "umlauted" to a true *ö* (mid-front-rounded, probably "wide") after *y*:

(i)yɔvi- mourning dove

(i)yö'ntcuA'tsɨγwĩ little mourn-
ing doves

In Ute *ö* (both wide and narrow varieties) is found as the regular correspondent of Southern Paiute *ɔ* (e. g. Ute öä'phi SALT: Southern Paiute ɔa'phi).

(c) *Assimilation to u*. Sporadically *ɔ* is assimilated to an *u* of the following syllable:

pɔɔ- several travel

pɔru'q-ɯpĩγa' several started out

The compound form *-puru-*, like certain other examples of *ɔ-u* alternation, belongs rather to vocalic "ablaut" than to the purely phonetic phenomena here discussed (see § 17, 7, a).

(5) MODIFICATIONS OF *u* (alternating with *o*):

(a) *Consonantizing to w*. Passage into the corresponding semi-vowel *w*, when standing before a vowel, sometimes takes place:

u- demonstrative stem

w'a'xava'q-wA into it

wi-ŋwa-γanti-, oi-ŋwa-γanti- can-
yon

wi'ŋwaγantimpaŋwɪ in a canyon

(b) *Assimilation to i*. An unaccented *u* is rarely assimilated to an *i*, *ɪ* of the following syllable:

-c-u- enclitic element "also"

ym^uu'RU^zqwa-γɪt-ɯæ:ɪn'ɪ' as
though under them too
(-c-un'ɪ' was also recorded)

(c) *Unrounding to i*. An unrounded *u*, i. e. *i*, sometimes develops after *iy* or before *y*, also quite frequently immediately before *i*. This secondary *i* may be further developed to *i*, *ɪ* (see 3, b). Examples are:

<i>tsi-</i> with the point of a stick +	<i>tsi'(y)'m-uχwip-īyāiyāŋA</i> kept
<i>yum'mu-</i> to poke	poking him
<i>-cuyaywa-n'oa-</i> would that	<i>-cīyaywa-(-cīyaywa-</i>
	<i>-cīyaywa)n'oa-</i>
<i>-t-ūi-</i> causative suffix	<i>pīni't'uk'a'</i> caused to see
<i>kwi't-u-</i> anus + <i>yəyə-</i> to copulate	<i>kwi't'ɪ'wəyət-ī'</i> anus-copulating
with	place, passive pederast

(d) *Assimilation to i*. Between two *i*-vowels, *u* is rarely assimilated to *i* (*ü*):

<i>ta'ī-</i> shirt + <i>-ru-</i> to make	<i>ta'ī'irūŋqīpūyāiA'qaanŋA</i> made it
	into a shirt for him

(e) *Opening to ə*. Before, less frequently after, an *a*, *u* is sometimes broadened out to an open *ə*:

<i>ua-</i> demonstrative + <i>-ya-</i> objective	<i>'əa'ia</i> modal adverb
<i>-ru'a-</i> interrogative	<i>ivī'ŋuntcar'əant</i> did I take a
	drink?
<i>-'urai-</i> toward	<i>aŋa''ərai'pūya'</i> went towards him
<i>məyoa-</i> soul	<i>məyə'əpɪ</i> soul

As the last example shows, two successive *o*-vowels both tend to develop to *ə* when one of them is so modified (cf. f).

An original *u* (*o*) tends to become opened to *ə* before and after *-y-*. This is particularly true of the group *-uyu-* (*-oyə-*), which seems to develop regularly to *-əyə-*; e. g. *yəyə-* TO COPULATE WITH, *təyə'əpɪ* RATTLESNAKE. Sometimes comparison with Ute, in which primary *ə* appears as *ö* (Ute *ə* is an open form of *u*, *o*), is necessary in such cases to determine whether Paiute *ə* is primary or developed from *o*.

(f) *Assimilation to ə*. An *u* (*o*)-vowel assimilates to *ə* before a syllable containing *ə*:

<i>to-</i> black	<i>to''əvan'nəŋqA</i> black goose;
	<i>to'p'ə'tən'ɪ'kəntīn'ɪ'</i> like some-
	thing black and spherical
<i>kwi't-u-</i> buttocks	<i>kwi'tə'ə'paq'ipɪ</i> anus
+ <i>əp'aq'ipɪ-</i> hole	

Also *ia* is not infrequently heard as *a*, *a*:

- <i>ŋwī</i> - animate plural + <i>-a-</i> ob-	- <i>ŋwa-</i> , - <i>ŋwa-</i>
jective	
- <i>ŋī</i> - present tense + <i>-aŋa-</i> he	- <i>yaŋa</i>
- <i>ŋqī</i> - indirective	<i>kiεŋqa'pA</i> don't laugh!
+ <i>-a'p'a-</i> negative	

An *au*, itself usually contracted from *a* + *u* (see b), is sometimes further contracted to *a* before *qw*, *ŋw*, or *p* the labial vowel *u* being absorbed, as it were, into the following labialized consonant but leaving its quantitative value behind in the lengthening of the preceding *a*. Examples are:

<i>na-uŋwai-</i> to hang oneself	<i>na'ŋwaiχwa'ai'i</i> go hang thyself!
<i>nīv^wa-uŋwa-</i> to snow	<i>nīv^wa'ŋwap'īya'</i> it snowed
<i>naug-wiŋqī-</i> to fight	<i>na'q-wiŋqī-</i>
(< <i>na-γuq-wi-ŋqī-</i> , see § 13, 5, b)	

(b) *Vowels contracting to ai, au.* This results when organically distinct *a* and *i*, or *u*, combine:

<i>guna-</i> fire + <i>-i'ni-</i> possessed	<i>guna'i'niaraŋwa</i> our (inclus.) fire (obj.)
<i>ma-</i> that + <i>-up'a'-</i> in (such a)	<i>ma'up'a'a</i> in that way
way	

A long *a* + *i* also contracts to *ai*. This is because organically long diphthongs are not allowed in Southern Paiute. E. g.:

<i>cī'pu'v^wa-</i> cold water + <i>-in'ni-</i>	<i>cī'pu'v^wain-utsɛɛaim'i</i> is wont
possessed	to have cold water

Apparently *a* + *u* (*o*), however, remains as disyllabic *a-u*, e. g.:

<i>qava-</i> horse + <i>-up'anua-</i> like	<i>qava'op'anuan</i> I (am) like a horse
--	--

Had *qavau-* resulted, the above form would have been *qava'up'anuan* (see § § 8, 2, a; 10, 1).

(c) *Vowels contracting to i, ɛ; i.* The *ii*, *u*, *u* which sometimes results from an original *ui* (see § 3, 5, c) is sometimes heard still further reduced to *ɛ*:

- <i>t'ui-</i> causative suffix	<i>na'a'it'ip'īya'</i> made a fire
- <i>r'ui-</i> to become	<i>turwa'r'it'up'īya'</i> it got dark

Rarely *yī* advances beyond *yi*, *yi* (see § 3, 3, b) to contracted *i*:
-ŋqī- indirective + *-yī-* present *tuʷquʷaiŋqīrʷənʷiʷ* art thou
 tense ashamed of me?

A long *i*, not infrequently heard simply as *i*, *ɪ*, appears as a contracted product of *i* + *i*:

qī-vi- locust + *-inʷi-* possessed *qīʷvniʷni* my locust
qani- house + *-iʷni-* possessed *qaniʷniʷni* my house

(d) *Vowels contracting to ī, ī.* A contracted *ī* sometimes results from *ī* + *ī*, itself sometimes reduced from *īγī* (see § 13, 5, b):

tīγīvʷi- friend *tīʷvʷiʷa-ŋA* his friend (obj.)

Rarely does *ī* result from *ī* + *u*, which normally gives *v* < *u* + *u*:

nī- I + *-u(w)aʷmi-* in front of *nīʷwαʷmi* in front of me

(e) *Vowels contracting to īi.* This diphthong sometimes results from *ī* + *i*, *ī* + *i*, or *īγi* (for loss of *γ*, see § 13, 5, b):

cv-γī- sugar + *-iʷni-* possessed *cvʷχīʷniʷni* my sugar
tīγia- deer *tīʷiaruʷquaʷi* deer meat; *pa-
 rīʷia-* elk (lit., water-deer)

(f) *Vowels contracting to ɔ, ɔ.* The contracted product *ɔ* results from either *ɔ* + *ɔ*, assimilated from *u* + *ɔ* (see § 3, 5, f):

u- demonstrative stem *ɔʷaγtʷuxʷwA* around it
 + *-ɔaγtʷuxʷwa-* around

or from *ɔ* + *u*:

pɔ- trail + *-upʷaʷ* through *pɔʷpʷaʷ* through the trail

Ordinarily, however, the *u* in the latter case keeps its distinctiveness, e. g. *pɔʷʷupaʷa* THROUGH THE TRAIL.

The *ɔa*, *ɔaʷ* which sometimes appears as a broadened form of original *ua* (*oa*), *uaʷ* (*oaʷ*) (see § 3, 5, e) appears also contracted to *ɔ*, *ɔ*:

-rʷua- interrogative *puaʷrʷuavaʷrʷənʷixʷainʷiʷ* it looks
 as though I shall become a
 medicine-man

-rʷua- + *-aŋa-* he *yaʷaʷiʷaʷnʷiarʷɔʷŋaxʷainʷiʷ* it looks
 as though he will die

u(w)anu- yonder + *-aŋa-* *u(w)aʷnɔʷŋA* up there he

(g) *Vowels contracting to oi.* This diphthong sometimes results from $\text{ɔ} + i$ or $\text{ɔ} \cdot + i$, ɔ being itself sometimes a broadened form of u after a (see § 3, 5, e):

<i>po-</i> trail + <i>-in'ni-</i> possessed	<i>po(·)ɔ'in'nini</i> my trail (for $\text{ɔ} \cdot \text{ɔ} < \text{ɔ}$ see 2, b below)
<i>purau-</i> flour + <i>-in'ni-</i>	<i>pura'ɔin'nini</i> my flour

(h) *Vowels contracting to o·, v·.* The $u + u$ that is frequently found contracted to $o \cdot$ ($v \cdot$) is either primary or assimilated from $\bar{i} + u$ (see § 3, 3, f). Examples are:

<i>um^wu-</i> they (invisible) + <i>-u(w)-</i>	<i>um^wʋ'ɾα'mi</i> in front of them
<i>a'mi-</i> in front of	
<i>amī-</i> they (visible) + <i>-u(w)a'mi-</i>	<i>amo'wa'mi</i> in front of them
<i>namī-</i> first + <i>uv^wit-u-</i> to sing a	<i>nam'o'v^wit-v'p̄ɾya'</i> sang the first
song	song

(i) *Vowels contracting to ui.* This diphthong sometimes results from $u + i$ or $v \cdot (o \cdot) + i$:

<i>tury(w)v-</i> to cache + <i>-in'ni-</i> pos- sessed	<i>tury(w)v(·)'in'nini</i> my cached things
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(2) VOCALIC LENGTHENING. Several phonetic phenomena may be conveniently grouped under this head.

(a) *Secondary lengthening.* Very characteristic of Southern Paiute, as contrasted with Ute, is the secondary lengthening of organically short vowels. This seems to take place, strangely enough, more often in unaccented than in accented syllables; it occurs with particular frequency in initial syllables, though found also medially. The lengthening has neither morphological nor mora-determining (§ 9) significance. Where advisable to indicate its inorganic character, the mark of length is enclosed in parentheses, e. g. *a(·)*. Examples are:

<i>ma-</i> that	<i>ma(·)va'aiɣu</i> from there
<i>piɣwa-</i> wife	<i>pi(·)ɣwa'ni</i> my wife
<i>qura-</i> neck	<i>qu(·)ra'(i)ya-ŋa</i> his neck (obj.)
<i>turywa-</i> night	<i>tu(·)ɣwa'vai'</i> through the night
<i>ɔa-</i> back + <i>-va'na-</i> on	<i>ɔ(·)'a-va(·)'naɳi</i> on my back
<i>ta-</i> with the feet	<i>nīv^wa't-a(·)maɣa-p̄ɾya'</i> went out to test depth of snow with the feet

-vaŋwi- in

qan'va(·)ŋwut-umananqwa out
from inside the house

That, to take the last two examples, we are really dealing with organic *ta-* and *-vaŋwi-* respectively, is proved not only by the testimony of the overwhelming preponderance of *ta-* and *-vaŋwi-* in other forms but also by the treatment, as regards unvoicing, of the vowels following the *a(·)*. A primary two-moraed *a·* would have demanded the incorrect forms: **n̄v̄a't-a-maŋaA'p̄ŋa'* and **qan'va-ŋwutuma-nanqwa* (see § 10, 1).

(b) *Pseudo-diphthongal or -triphthongal treatment of long vowels (and diphthongs)*. Any long vowel, less frequently secondarily lengthened vowel, may be pseudo-diphthongized, i. e. weakly rearticulated: *a^a*, *iⁱ*, *ĩ^ĩ*, *u^u* (*o^u*, *o^o*), *ɔ^ɔ*. Examples will meet us frequently, so none need be listed here. All organically long vowels, whether resulting from contraction or not, may be broken up into two short vowels or even a short and a long vowel or a long and a short vowel; e. g. organic *a·*, *a^a* may be further heard diphthongized to *aa*, *aa·*, *a'a*. Throughout *aa* and *a·* are to be considered as phonetic equivalents, similarly for other vowels (e. g. *yĩ·* or *yĩ'* 'DOORWAY'). Examples of broken-up long vowels are:

- <i>tca-</i> preterit tense + - <i>aŋa-</i> he, him	<i>tɔnɔ't-uɔtcaananoA</i> some one struck him; <i>ɔv'i'nti'qan'wintca-</i> <i>a'ŋA</i> he turned into wood
<i>qu·p'aŋa-</i> to spill water out of the mouth	<i>quv'p'aŋap'ĩŋa'aik-wA</i> (he) let it spill out of (his) mouth

Analogously, organic diphthongs may be pseudo-triphthongized; e. g. *ai* > *aai*, *ɔi* > *ɔɔi*, *au* > *aaui*. Even secondary lengthening of the first vowel is sometimes found: *ɔ(·)ɔi* < *ɔi*. Examples of pseudo-triphthongs are:

- <i>p̄ŋai-</i> remote past	<i>sɔtsi'ŋup̄ŋaaiC-U</i> again peeped out
- <i>'urai-</i> towards	<i>aŋa''uraaiC-U</i> towards him again
<i>qɔi'na-</i> several fall down	<i>qɔɔ'i'na·p'ĩŋa'</i> (line) fell right down
<i>pɔi-</i> chest	<i>pɔɔ'iɪɪ, pɔɔ'iɪɪ</i> chest
<i>yauq-wi-</i> (sun) sets	<i>yaa'uq-wiNA</i> setting

(c) *Rhetorical lengthening of vowels*. Final vowels, instead of being elided (see § 7, 1) or unvoiced (see § 8, 1, a), are sometimes,

for reasons of rhetorical emphasis, lengthened and generally followed by a glottal stop:

<i>i'ŋA</i> this one	<i>iŋa''^a</i> this one
<i>u'mA</i> with it	<i>uŋm''^a</i>
<i>kwɪ'tu'nu</i> my anus	<i>kwɪ'tuŋ-i''ⁱ</i>
<i>-nɪ(y)a-</i> like	<i>cɪ'na'ŋwa(-)uŋnɪya''^a</i> like coyote
<i>iva'ŋwɪ</i> in here	<i>ivaŋwɪ''ⁱ</i>
<i>tv'p'(w)ɪ</i> ,	<i>tv'p''^{wi}</i> , <i>tv'p-i'</i> (vocative)
<i>tv'p'(w)ɪ</i>	
personal name	

A final *-a''^a* is also sometimes rhetorically lengthened to *-a''^a*:

<i>"m''^aicampa''^a</i> that only thou	<i>"m''^aicampa'a'</i> enough for thee!
	shut up!

Medial vowels are also sometimes lengthened for rhetorical reasons:

<i>qa'tcu</i> not	<i>qa'ʔcu</i> not so!
<i>u(w)a'nu</i> yonder	<i>uwe' + nu</i> way over there

§ 5. *Glide Vowels.*

Inorganic vowels frequently develop as glides before certain consonants. These glides are often heard as full vowels, sometimes as very weak vowels that may be appropriately written as superiors. It will be convenient sometimes, to avoid ambiguity, to indicate the glide by means of a parenthesis. The *a* and *ɔ* which appear as glides before *i* after a guttural consonant preceded by *a* or *ɔ* have been already spoken of (see § 3, 2, a).

(1) GLIDE *i*. This appears very frequently, one might almost say regularly, before *y* after all vowels but *i* itself. The resulting diphthong, however, always sounds briefer, less sustained, than the organic *i-* diphthong; it does not count as two morae (see § 9) nor can it be pseudo-triphthongized (see § 4, 2, b). Examples are:

<i>na-yap'a-</i> to appear, look like	<i>na(i)ya'p'a-ŋupɪ'ya'</i> appeared
<i>pu'tcu'ɛuɣwa-</i> to know + <i>-yɪ-</i>	<i>pu'tcu'tcuɣwa(i)'yɪq-wA</i> knows it
present tense	
<i>paɣɪ-</i> to return	<i>pa(i)yɪ'ŋupɪ'ya'</i> returned
<i>ap'ɪi-ŋu-</i> to fall asleep	<i>A'pɪ'ɪŋɪ(i)yɪaŋA</i> he is falling
	asleep

In the last example the *u* of *-ŋu-* is unrounded before the glide *i* (see § 3, 5, c).

Here belongs also the not too common appearance of an *i*- glide after *ī* (*i*) or *ɔ* before a syllable with *i* (chiefly before *-ni-* or *-tsi-*); cf. the occasional assimilation of *ī* to a following *i* (§ 3, 3, a). Examples are:

<i>pīnu-</i> to see	<i>pī'ni'k·ai·p·i'γa'</i> saw
<i>mi(y)ɔ-</i> at a distance + <i>-tsi-</i>	<i>miyo''tsi-</i> at a little distance
diminutive	

(2) GLIDE *u*. This glide sometimes appears after *a* before labialized spirants or nasals (*ɣw*, *xw*, *ŋw*); before *-ɣu-*, *-xu-*; and before *-vī*. It also appears after *ī* before *v*. The *u*- diphthong resulting is inorganic (cf. above under 1). Examples are:

<i>qava-</i> horse + <i>-ɣwac·i-</i> tail	<i>qava'(u)xwA'ciwāix·U</i> horse-tail hair
<i>uŋwa-</i> he + <i>-ŋwantuɣwa-</i> from	<i>uŋwq'(u)ŋwantux·wA</i> from him
<i>-vaywi-</i> in	<i>uw''q'(u)ŋwɪtʃi'</i> being in it (obj.);
	<i>qani'va(au)ŋwɪ</i> in the house
	(<i>aa</i> < <i>a'</i> < <i>a</i> , see § 4, 2, a)
<i>ampaɣa-</i> to talk + <i>-ɣu-</i> , subordinating suffix	<i>ampa'ɣa(u)x·U</i> while talking
<i>-ya-</i> , <i>-ia-</i> objective + <i>-φī</i> one's own < <i>-vī-</i>	<i>pA'tca'ia(u)φī</i> his own moccasins (obj.)
<i>nī-</i> I + <i>-va-</i> at > <i>-φA</i>	<i>nī'(u)φA</i> at me
<i>fiɣa-</i> pine-nut	<i>fi'(u)φA</i> pine-nut

(3) PROTHETIC *u*-. Before an initial labialized *m* (*m''*, see § 14, 3, b) a prothetic *u*, " is frequently found:

<i>m''a-</i> that	(<i>u</i>) <i>m''a'ni</i> , " <i>m''a'ni</i> in that way;
	(<i>u</i>) <i>m''a'Ri</i> , " <i>m''a'Ri</i> that (in-animate)

§ 6. Nasalization of Vowels.

Nasalized vowels are fairly frequent in Southern Paiute, less so than in Ute. They arise from two entirely distinct sources. They are either reduced forms of vowels + *ŋ*; or they are due to the assimilating influence of an immediately preceding or following nasal consonant.

(1) NASALIZATION AS REDUCED FORM OF *ŋ*. Reduction of vowel + *ŋ* to nasalized vowel occurs fairly often in rapid speech in Southern Paiute; far more frequently in Uintah Ute, where it tends to become the norm (particularly when the vowel is followed by *ŋw*); and regularly in Uncompahgre Ute, where *ŋ* does not occur at all. Examples are:

<i>aŋa-</i> he + <i>-ŋwantuŋwa-</i> at	<i>q'ŋwantuŋwa</i> at him (<i>q</i> < <i>q</i> + <i>a</i>)
<i>čīnaŋwani-</i> coyote	<i>čīnaq'waφi</i> coyote
<i>uŋwai-</i> to hang	<i>uwa'i^hkaixwa'a</i> go and hang!
<i>na-</i> reflexive + <i>-uŋwai-</i>	<i>na^hwa'ip'īya'</i> hung himself (for loss of <i>u</i> , see § 4, 1, a)

(2) INORGANIC NASALIZATION. This occurs frequently before or after *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, or *ŋw*:

<i>ɣ'mai'</i> yes
<i>mīmi'ŋwanti'</i> one of you
<i>na'imiŋwait'i</i> never saying that
<i>čīna'ŋwaφi</i> coyote
<i>u^hqwa'ɣnu'</i> like an arrow
<i>mīni'c'ipīya'</i> turned around
<i>ɔ(·)no't'a'čīaŋqu</i> early in the morning
<i>ɣ'ŋwa</i> he (invisible)
<i>pūŋqa'nu^hqwiɣai'</i> keeps calling on
<i>paq'aŋwa</i> his aunt (< <i>paa-</i> + <i>-'ŋwa-</i>)
<i>nu^hqwa'm'muqi'</i> runs along

(3) NASALIZED BREATH. A final or medial breath (including its development to *x*), generally representing the unvoicing of a vowel (see § 8), when following a nasal consonant or a nasalized vowel, is itself sometimes heard as nasalized (represented as *̃*):

<i>'q:</i> interjection of surprise
<i>čim^wi'ɣqai'imi</i> left them (< <i>čim^wīa-</i>)

Sometimes the nasalized breath has definite vocalic timbre, is a voiceless nasalized vowel, in other words:

<i>na(·)vi'aŋw</i> <i>ami</i> mother-and-daughter they
--

Somewhat infrequently a final nasalized breath has been observed unpreceded by a nasal element. It is barely possible that this is

the remnant of a "nasalizing" force of the stem or grammatical element (see § 16, 3):

-*va*-ⁿ at (e. g. -*va*-*nti*- being at) -*va*_i at (more often heard as -*va*')

§ 7. Elision of final vowels.

Final vowels are never, except in poetry and in certain infrequent cases also in prose, preserved as such. They are either wholly or partly unvoiced (see § 8, 1), or else they are entirely elided or quantitatively reduced. The latter processes are operative before words beginning with a vowel (a glottal stop or breathing preceding an initial vowel does not take away from the vocalic beginning).

(1) ELISION OF FINAL SHORT VOWELS. A final short vowel of the ideally complete form of the word is lost, without qualitative or quantitative trace, before a word beginning with a vowel. A preceding consonant is syllabified directly with the beginning vowel of the next word; e. g. *aruywa a'ip'īya'* TO-HIM SAID becomes *aruyw a'ip'īya'*, syllabified *a-ru-γwa'ip-pi-γa'*. Examples are:

- <i>aq'a</i> - it + <i>o''u</i> then	<i>īw''īaq' o''u</i> go-ahead-it then!
<i>qa'iva-ya</i> - mountain (obj.)	<i>qa'ivay uru'q'watur:WA</i> towards the mountain
<i>wī'c'a'wa</i> - feathers (obj.)	<i>wī'c'a'w u'mA</i> on the feathers
<i>paa'irami</i> - our (dual inclus.)	<i>paa'iram uyWA</i> our aunt
aunt + <i>uyWA</i> animate singular article-pronoun	
<i>cna'hwavi</i> - coyote	<i>cna'hwav an'p'īya'</i> coyote was lying
<i>aya'n-i</i> - in what way	<i>aya'n' ani'ntcī</i> how doing
<i>mur'u'i</i> - blanket	<i>mur'u' ari</i> the blanket
+ <i>ari</i> inanimate article-pronoun	
<i>ī'itcī</i> - this	<i>ī'itc aro'amī</i> this is wont to be
<i>saγwa'χari</i> - being blue	<i>saγwa'χar uru''ap'īya'</i> was blue
- <i>γi</i> - present tense + <i>a'īφi</i> now	<i>puγ'wi'γγiy a'īφi</i> makes a peeping noise now
- <i>c'u</i> - again	<i>a'ip'īyaic imi'ntcux:WA</i> said again to thee

A final glottal stop protects the preceding vowel from elision, but the murmured echo which so often follows the glottal stop is, of course, elided before a following initial vowel:

-u ^p a'(e) through	ma'u ^p a' u ⁿ i'ŋuts· through there
	then
ü ^w i'(f) go ahead!	ü ^w i' imi go ahead thou!

Very rarely do forms turn up with elided vowel + glottal stop, the latter being then absorbed in a preceding consonant, e. g. *ma'u^p·uⁿi'ŋuts·* THROUGH THERE THEN.

(2) REDUCTION OF FINAL LONG VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS. A final long vowel or a diphthong loses its second mora before a word beginning with a vowel, i. e. the long vowel is shortened, while the second vowel of the diphthong is lost without trace:

-a- at	mava' u ⁿ i'ŋuts· there then
uq-wi'yv- arrow	U ^w qwi'yv ari the arrow
a'ip-üya- said	a'ip-üya u ^m w'u'ru ^x ·WA said to them
-q-ai- perfective	ts-pi'ŋuqwa aŋa'v'antux·WA has appeared on him (for w of -qwa see § 14, 3, c)

A final short vowel, reduced as above, may combine into a long with the vowel of like quality that begins the following word; e. g. *ts-pi'ŋuqwa·aŋa'v'antux·WA*.

(3) RETENTION OF FINAL VOWELS. The above rules do not apply to monosyllables, which retain their second mora:

pa- water	pa' ari the water
o- arrow	o' ari the arrow
qwau- off, away	qwau aŋi'm·aŋwut-ux·WA off away from it

Before *ai-*, *'ai-* TO SAY subjective independent personal pronouns keep their final vowel. There is probably some morphological reason back of this usage. Examples are:

imi- thou	imi' ai ^k ·A thou sayest
nim ^w i- we (exclus.)	ta'·a ^m piniyaŋw ni ^m wi' ai ^k ·ami' we (excl.) are tired of what you (pl.) say

The same rule applies to subjective independent personal pronouns before *an-i'-k-a-* TO DO, except that third personal pronouns (at least animate singulars) lose their final vowel and insert a glottal stop before the verb (cf. enclitic *-aŋa'ŋa-* < *-aŋa-* + *-aŋa-*, § 41, 1, e):

nīm^wi- we (exclus.)

nīm^wi 'anu'k·A we are doing

but:

m^waŋa- that one (animate)

m^wα'η 'ani'k·A that one does

Apparently other final vowels are sometimes preserved before *an-i-k·a-*:

qatcu- not

qatcu an-i'k·A

Certain final vowels are protected from elision by taking on a glottal stop. This is true of nominal or independent pronominal subjects immediately followed by a substantive verb (see § 56), e. g.:

itci- this

itci'' 'aru''am-i' this is wont to be

na'a'intsit-si- little girl

na'a'intsit-si' aru''a a little girl it is

imi- thou

imi'' uwaru''a thou art

With the last example contrast:

imia- (of) thee

imi 'uraru''a it is thine

It is likely that here again we are not dealing with a purely phonetic phenomenon.

A protecting glottal stop is added also to the final *a* of the preterit enclitics *-ŋwa-* and *-(n)tca-* (see § 19), provided they are directly preceded by an independent personal pronoun and followed by a word beginning with a consonant, e.g.:

nī- I + *-ŋwa-*

nī'ŋwa' tō'na I punched

nīm^wi- we (excl.)

nīm^wi'χwa'a qa'tcu we did not
(pluck some of his feathers)

+ *-ŋwa-*

itci- this + *-tca-*

itci'tca'a pa'tca'n arī these my
moccasins have (worn out)

nī- I + *-ntca-*

nī'ntca' pi'pi'tci I have arrived

With these examples contrast:

an'ia- what + *-ŋwa-*

an-i'axw a'ivī' what did (he) say?

cina'ŋwari- coyote + *-tca-*

cina'ŋwariŋc uŋw o'' coyote-did
he break-wind

u(w)an'oyu- from over there +

u(w)a'n'oyuntc pa'iyū'ŋu returned
from over there

-ntca-

nī- I + *ntca-*

nī'ntc iŋi'r pi'pi'tci I indeed arrived

(4) **IRREGULARITIES.** Very rarely do we find a final diphthong or long vowel completely elided:

<i>-p'iyai-</i> remote past	<i>tī'nti^zqap'iy ūwa'ḡwantī'</i> ate well from her; <i>a'ip'iy a'iphaputs</i> said young man
<i>uw'a-</i> there	<i>v'+v^w a'ip'iyā'</i> "yonder," (he) said

A final *ḡw*, after elision of the originally following vowel, unites with an initial ' of the next word into *ḡw'*:

<i>an'a-ḡwa-</i> what he (inv.) + 'ai-	<i>an'')aḡ'w a'im'</i> what he is wont to say to say
--	---

§ 8. *Vocalic unvoicing.*

Vowels are unvoiced (indicated in our orthography by corresponding small capitals) in two circumstances: when final in absolute position or before a word beginning with a consonant (not including ' or '); and initially or medially under certain conditions to be defined below.

(1) **UNVOICING IN FINAL POSITION.** The final unvoicing may be either complete or partial, according to the nature of the final vowel and the element preceding it. We must distinguish between final short vowels and long vowels or diphthongs.

(a) *Treatment of short vowels.* A final completely unvoiced vowel always sounds distinctly breathy in quality and may, indeed, be appropriately defined as aspiration with the vocalic timbre of the originally voiced vowel. Very frequently the breath alone is heard, the timbre not being always distinctly perceptible; *i* and *u* are the clearest of the timbres, while unvoiced *a* and *ī* are not always easy to detect. Where the timbre of the voiceless vowel is obscure, a mere ' is used. A vowel or nasal (*m*, *n*, *ḡ*) preceding the unvoiced vowel remain unaffected, though often the latter part of the nasal is also voiceless. More rarely the nasal too is heard completely unvoiced. A stopped consonant (including *tc*) becomes a strongly aspirated surd (e. g. *-pi* > *-p'i*, indicated more simply as *-pɪ*). After a *q* or *ḡq*, the final breath is sometimes sharpened to a glide *z* (e. g. *-aq a-* > *-aq A*, *-aq'* or *-aq^z A*, *-aq^z*); after an anterior palatal *k* or *ḡk*, this glide is palatalized to a *z* (as in German *ich*; e. g. *a'ik a-* SEVERAL SAY > *a'ik A*, *a'ik'* or *a'ik^z A*, *a'ik^z*). Examples are:

- <i>ri-a</i>	participle (objective)	<i>qu'tca'q-ariA</i> , - <i>ri'</i>	being light-gray (obj.)
- <i>n'ua</i>	numeral suffix	<i>ma(.)n-u'n'ua</i> , - <i>n'i'</i>	all
<i>moc'ca</i>	pubic hair	<i>Mo'co'A</i>	pubic hair
- <i>ma</i>	with	<i>a'mA</i>	with it
- <i>ni</i>	my	<i>qani'ni</i> , <i>qani'n'</i>	my house
- <i>na</i>	verbal abstract noun suffix	<i>a'ik'ava-na</i> , - <i>va-n'</i>	what (several) will say
- <i>aya</i>	his	<i>qani'aya</i> , - <i>ay'</i>	his house
- <i>yu</i>	momentaneous suffix	<i>wi'yu</i>	to take a drink
- <i>u(w)a'mi-</i>	in front of	<i>qani'u(w)a'mi</i>	in front of the house
- <i>pi</i>	body-part suffix	<i>piyi'p-i</i>	heart
- <i>nti</i>	participial	<i>uw'a'anti</i>	being there
- <i>qa</i>	plural subject	<i>ti'qa'q-A</i>	several eat
<i>pitci-</i>	to arrive	<i>pi'tci</i>	to arrive

After spirants and rolled consonants (*v*; *s*; *c*; *γ*; *r*) the unvoiced vowel in turn unvoices the consonant, if not already unvoiced. It is itself not typically isolable as a separate element but appears generally as a definite vocalic timbre of the unvoiced spirant; i. e. such an orthography as *-c'u* is to be interpreted as a long *c* with simultaneous lip-rounding as for *u*. However, the independent vocalic quality as subsequent to the consonant release is also frequently heard, e. g. in *-phi* < *-vi-*. Frequently the vocalic timbre is hardly perceptible. The unvoiced forms of *v*, *γ*, and *r* are respectively *φ*, *x*, and *R*; final *-s*, *-c*, and *-x* are always long. A final *-tsi-* regularly becomes *-ts*. Examples are:

- <i>vi</i>	body-part suffix	<i>taηa'phi</i>	knee
- <i>va</i>	at	<i>aya'φ(A)</i>	at him
- <i>vi-</i>	one's own	<i>qani'a(u)φ(i)</i>	one's own house (obj.)
<i>wara-</i>	edible seeds	<i>wa'R(A)</i>	
- <i>ru</i>	to make	<i>wana'RU</i>	to make a rabbit-snare
- <i>cu</i>	again	<i>a'ip'iyaaic'u</i>	said again
- <i>v'a'γi-</i>	over	<i>qani'v'a'x-i</i>	over the house
- <i>yu</i>	subordinating suffix	<i>ta'ci'p'a(u)x'u</i>	when it was evening
- <i>ntsi-</i>	nominal suffix	<i>niηwi'nts</i>	man, Indian

After a glottal stop preceded by a vowel, a final vowel is only

partly reduced in voice. It does not lose its voice altogether but becomes a "murmured" vowel (indicated by superior vowels):

<i>aru'a-</i> to be	<i>nī'aru'a</i> I am
<i>-tu'i-</i>	<i>təγə'qwu'tu'i</i> to cause to run
<i>taq'wi'o-</i> roasting tray	<i>tA'qwi'o</i>

Sometimes the murmured vowel is heard assimilated in quality to the vowel preceding the glottal stop:

<i>aru'a-</i> to be	<i>aru'u</i> (generally <i>aru'a</i> , <i>aru'a</i>)
<i>fiw'ic'i'a-</i> to pay	<i>fiw'ic'i'i</i>

If the word ends in a consonant + glottal stop + vowel (or, what amounts to the same thing, consonant + vowel + glottal stop; see § 15, 2), the final vowel appears fully voiced and followed by the glottal stop + a murmured rearticulation or "echo" of the vowel (cf. § 7, 1, end). Such syllables are two-moraed (see § 9). The "echo" is not always clearly perceptible. Examples are:

<i>-n'ni-</i> continuative suffix	<i>yni'k'ani'i</i> several keep doing
<i>paγa'ηwi-ni</i> my bowstring	<i>paγa'ηwi'i</i> bowstring
<i>-u'p'a-</i> through	<i>ma'up'a'a</i> through there

There is, however, a distinction in treatment between a glottal stop that belongs properly to the final syllable, as in the above examples, and one that, though it may actually appear in it, is not organically of it but belongs properly to some part of the word preceding the final syllable or is an accessory element (see § 15, 1). In the latter case, the final vowel is unvoiced (better, probably, whispered; cf. 2, a, end); indeed, a preceding nasal is in such cases apt to be more completely unvoiced (whispered) because of the presence of the glottal stop. Such syllables are one-moraed (see § 9). Examples are:

<i>-n'na-</i> momentaneous	<i>ts'ka'p'in'NA</i> to cut something (cf. <i>ts'ka'vna</i> to be cutting)
<i>-i-mi-</i> thy	<i>qani''mi</i> , <i>-iMI</i> (more frequently <i>qa-ni''mi</i> , see § 15, 2, a) thy house

(b) *Treatment of w + short vowel.* In words ending in a labialized consonant (*qw*, *ηqw*, *γw*, *ηw*) + short vowel, both the *w* and the vowel are unvoiced (unvoiced *w* is indicated as *w*). The preceding *q* then becomes aspirated, *γ* a lengthened *x*. Examples are:

<i>iv'i'y'iq-wa-</i> drinks it (inv.)	<i>iv'i'y'iq-wA</i>
<i>pa-n'a'ngwa-</i> down	<i>pa-n'a'ngwA</i>
<i>-ru-ywa-</i> to	<i>ym^wu'ru-x-wA</i> to them
<i>-ra-ywa-</i> our (incl. plur.)	<i>piv'i'ara-ywA</i> our mothers
<i>-va-ywi-</i> in	<i>qani'va-ywI</i> in the house
<i>-ywi-</i> animate plural	<i>näyw'i'ntsi-ywī</i> men, Indians

(c) *Treatment of y + short vowel.* A final *y* + short vowel become unvoiced to *ɣ* + voiceless vowel (*ɣ* is much lighter than *ch* of German *ich*). Ordinarily, however, the *ɣ* becomes a mere breath merged in the following voiceless vowel. If the vowel preceding the *y* is *a*, *ɔ*, *i*, or *u*, a clear *i* or *i* is generally heard as voiced glide. The timbre of the final vowel is least clear if reduced from *i*; hence, final *-yī-* appears normally as *-i'*, *-i'* after all vowels but *i*, after which merely *-'* is ordinarily heard. Examples are:

<i>-q-a-</i> plural subject + <i>-ya-</i> plural imperative	<i>qa'q'ai(ɣ)A</i> , <i>-q'ai'</i> sing ye!
<i>mi(y)ɔ-</i> far off	<i>mi'(ɣ)ɔ</i>
<i>-a-xawa(i)yu-</i> in among	<i>a'a'xawaiyU</i> in it
<i>co-yu-</i> the other one	<i>co'yU</i>
<i>-m'mua-</i> moving along + <i>-yī-</i> present tense	<i>po'yam'muaⁱ</i> runs along
<i>-yū-</i> momentaneous + <i>-yī-</i>	<i>iv'i'yuⁱ</i> takes a drink
<i>-t-i-</i> passive + <i>-yī-</i>	<i>iv'i't-ui-yūⁱ</i> is caused to drink
<i>pitci-</i> , <i>pitci-</i> to arrive + <i>-yī-</i>	<i>pitciⁱ</i> arrives; <i>cu(w)a'- pitci'</i> wakes up (lit., nearly arrives)
<i>pa'an-i-</i> to be high + <i>-yī-</i>	<i>pa'a'n-i'</i> is high

A long *a* or an *ai* before final *y* + vowel (and, indeed, before *y* + vowel generally) are practically indistinguishable phonetically, owing to the *i*-glide after *a* and the tendency of *a* and *ai* to break up into *aa* and *aai* respectively (see § 5, 1; 4, 2, b). Both appear as *aai*, *a*i**, or, very characteristically before final *y* + vowel, as *a*i**, a true diphthong in which the *a* and *i* melt lazily into each other. Hence a final *-ai'* < *-a(i)-yī-* is acoustically quite distinct from *-ai'*, *-a*i** < *-a-yī-* or *-ai-yī-*; the former *-ai'* is sharp, the latter somewhat languishing in character, though not necessarily so long as to deserve the orthography *-a*i**. Examples are:

<i>pa-</i> water + <i>-ya-</i> objective	<i>paa'iA</i> , <i>paa'i'</i> , <i>pa<i>i</i></i>
<i>pai-</i> three + <i>-yu-</i> numeral suffix	<i>paa'iYU</i> , <i>pa'ai'</i> , <i>pa<i>i</i></i>
<i>tavai-</i> to set fire to brush + <i>-yī-</i>	<i>tava<i>i</i></i> sets fire to brush

<i>-ɣwa'ai-</i> to go in order to	<i>ɣwa'i:ɬkaiɣwa^a</i> to go in order to hang
<i>ya'ai-</i> to die	<i>ya''^a</i>
<i>naŋwa'ai-</i> both	<i>naŋwa''^a</i>

Final *-au-* is treated like *-a-* + *-u-*, i. e. the *-u-* is unvoiced (see a above):

purau- flour

pura'u

(f) *Treatment of monosyllables.* All monosyllables, except those ending in *-ai-*, sustain no loss of mora. They end in free breath or, if the stem ends in a glottal stop, take on a "murmured" echo vowel:

pa- water

pa'

po- trail

po'

qwa- off

qwa'u'

nĩ', nĩ- I

nĩ''

A final *-ai-* in monosyllables becomes *-a'*:

ma(a)i- to find

maq'

(g) *Special developments.* A final breathing or voiceless vowel is lost as such before a word beginning with a voiceless vowel or voiceless *y* or *w* (see 2 below). In such cases the voiceless ending of the first merges, in a sort of crasis, with the voiceless beginning of the next. Particularly noteworthy is the formation of voiceless labialized consonants "across" words. Thus, *-pɪ + A' > -pA'* (*p* is here a strongly aspirated surd); *-ɣwɪ + i' > -ɣwi'*; *-qA + wA' > -qWA'*; *-ɣwA + wA' > -ɣwA'*. Examples of such mergings are:

taɣwA we + *A'pü-* to sleep

ta'ɣwA'pü'i' we sleep

-qU objective + *wĩ'tɔn'ɪ-* to shake out

ma(.)nɔ'q.wĩtɔ'n'ɪz pĩɣa'aik-wA
shook them all out

taɣwA we + *wA'tcü'ɣwi-* four

taɣwA'tcü'ɣwɪyɪm-un'ɪ' we four

Not infrequently a final breathing or voiceless vowel is completely lost before a word beginning with a consonant, particularly if that consonant is identical or homorganic with the consonant preceeding the unvoiced vowel. A germinated or nasalized consonant (see § 12, 2, a; § 16) results:

miyɔ'nɪA far away + *paɣ(a)i-*
to go

miyɔ'nɪ p-ara'ik-w'ai' goes off far
away

anɣ'iac-U him + *cɪna'ɣwavi'*
coyote (obj.)

anɣ'iac-ina'ɣwavi'

umwv.'ɣα'mɪ in front of them +
mɪ'yU far off

umwv.'ɣα'miYU in front of them
far off

nĩ'aqA I-it + *qwi'qwi''i'* takes
several times

nĩ'aq-wĩ'qwi''i' I take it several
times

qa''naml thy singing

qa''nam pu'tcu'tcuɣwai' under-
stands thy singing

A final voiceless *-l* is voiced again to *-i* as a glide to a following *y*:-

qū'aŋwɪ yesterday

qū'aŋwɪ ya''a died yesterday

(2) UNVOICING IN NON-FINAL POSITION. Under certain accentual conditions to be defined below (see § 10, 1) a short vowel or the second mora of a long vowel or diphthong loses its voice in initial or medial position before a geminated unvoiced consonant (*p*·; *t*·; *q*·; *q**w*·; *s*·, *c*·; *t*·*s*·, *t*·*c*·). Here we shall deal only with the manner of such unvoicing.

(a) *Treatment of short vowels.* Short vowels are unvoiced as in final position (see 1, a-c) with the same effect on preceding consonants. The breathy quality, however, of these non-final unvoicings is even greater than in final position. Hence a moment of free untimbered breath (indicated as *-'*) is generally audible after the unvoiced vowel proper and before the consonantal closure; before guttural stops (*q*, *qw*), less frequently before other stops, this *-'* develops to a weak guttural spirant (indicated *-ʒ-*), which has palatal timbre after *i* (indicated *-ʒ-*, a very brief but sharp *ʒ* sound as in German *ich*). Such a breath-glide may also occur under appropriate conditions finally before a word closely linked with the preceding; e. g. *pa'.iAʒ qar'i'riA* OF-WATER SITTING (obj.), OF THE LAKE. A nasal (*m*, *n*) preceding the voiceless vowel is completely unvoiced (*M*, *N*) when initial and generally half-voiced (*mm*, *nn*) when medial; an initial *y* becomes completely unvoiced (*ɣ-* is acoustically like *-ʒ-*, only inclined to be less spirantal in quality). *-ni-*, when unvoiced, often appears as *nʒ*, the *-i-* palatalizing the *n* (see § 13, 4) and unvoicing to a spirantal *ʒ*. As in final position, the vocalic timbre is not always very clear; e. g. *-cʒ-* often unvoices to *-c-*, *-ɣa-* to *-x-*, *-si-* to *-s-*. Examples are:

ap'ɪ'i- to sleep
tac'ɪ'p-a- evening

A'pɪ'ɪ' sleeps
tA'ci'p-a(u)xU when it was
evening

aq-a- it
maŋwa'va- to creep

Aʒqa'naŋqwoɣpA near it
maŋwa'ɸAqa(i)yiamū they are
creeping

to'q-wa- to be black

to'q-wA'qaŋU several become
black

aŋqa'ɣa- to be red

aŋqa'x'qaŋU several become red

kwip'a'- to beat, hit
piḵ'a' sore
tsip-i'- to appear
-a'γt-uγwa- around
wiq'a'm'mi- to cover

fira'c-iq-wa- to come to a stand-
 still
po't-əq-wa- to be round
puc'a'γai- to look for
-yu-c-ampa- although
yuq-u'- fawn
nuq-wi'χa- to call on

müt-i'ηwa- point of hill
qa'-n-a- singing

nuq-wi'- to stream

paγ(a)'i- to go + *nuq-wi'*- to
 stream, run

kwi'pa'ni beat me!
piḵa'mə² sore-handed
ts'pi'ηupüγa' appeared
aηa'əax-tux-wa around him
wi'qa'm'muguntca-ηani I cov-
 ered him

fira'c-qwats' having come to a
 standstill
po't-ə²qwarī being round
pu'ca'γaip-üγa' looked for
a'iyucampəηwa although he said
yu²qu'ts' fawn
püηqa'MU²qwiχai' keeps calling
 on

Mi'ti'ηwa
qa'nnA'cux a'ip-üγa' still-his-own-
 singing said
NU²qwi'nti stream

pa(·)'γa'(i)n²qwi-p-üγa' started
 off on way

Note, in the last example, the curious merging of original *-γ(a)i'nu-* to *-γa'(i)n²-* for normally expected *-γa'inNU²-*.

Rarely *i* develops a parasitic *s* or *ts* before a following *ts* or *tc*; e. g. *ta'p'i^{ts}taq-aip-üγa'* (THEY) WERE TIRED.

Unvoiced vowels directly following other vowels quite frequently sharpen to a secondary *-x-*. This happens most frequently with *-u-* (normally unvoiced to *-U-*, *-U'*, *-U²-*), which then appears as *-x(·)U-*, *-²U-*, *-ux(·)U-* (with glide *-u-*).

Examples are:

cim^wi'a- to leave

-up'a- through

cim^wi'x.qwa^{ai}püγa' left to start
 away (*-x-* < *-A²-*)

pina's'γaxUpa'aφi through his
 own legs; *po'²Upa'a* through
 the trail; *m^wa'uxUpa'a* through
 there

After *η*, as well as after *q* and *ηq* (cf. 1, a), *u* frequently develops to *²U* or simply *²*:

fiv^w*ʔ**η*^x*Upi**ya*^ʔ asked; *na*(*i*)*ya*^ʔ
p^ʔ*a**η*^x*pi**ya*^ʔ appeared, seemed

After a consonant + glottal stop (or glottal stop + consonant) the reducible vowel is, as in the preceding cases, completely unvoiced if the glottal stop belongs properly to the preceding syllable, otherwise the vowel, counting for two moras, is preserved intact (cf. final treatment, 1, a, end). Owing to the immediately preceding glottal closure, the reduced vowel is whispered rather than fully breathed, which causes a following π or π' release to stand out all the more sharply. Examples are:

qwī.'NI^z*kāai*' struts out (his)
breast

wa(·)vi'n'ɪp̥ɪɣa'aimi they 2
pulled their bowstrings

pĩmpĩ'n'ɪʔkaiyĩaŋA several look
at him

aŋqa'n'NA^zpīya'aikwA painted
it

o'o'p.at.ĩA being through it (obj.)

pīni'n'nup-īya' kept looking;
moi'n'nip-īya' led around

After a glottal stop preceded by a vowel, a reducible vowel is "murmured," e. g.:

uru''a pīya' was

ya(a)'inqitu'ap·iγa' was hunting
with people

(b) *Treatment of long vowels.* Under the appropriate phonetic conditions the second mora of a long vowel is unvoiced. It is treated precisely like a short vowel of the same quality (see a). Particularly frequent is the development of the voiceless part of a long vowel to *x*. Examples are:

<i>cīrī'ya-t-ūi-</i> to frighten	<i>cī'cī'rī'ya'tuiyīni</i> frightens me several times
<i>tuywa-</i> fire goes out	<i>tuywa'pīya'</i> fire went out
<i>mantca-</i> to put one's hands + -q-ai- resultative	<i>mantca'A²qa'</i> to hold out one's hands
<i>-r'ɔ'-</i> (< <i>-r'ua'-</i>) interrogative + -aq-a- it > <i>-r'ua:q-a-</i>	<i>ɣwa'va-n-iar'ɔx-wqaxain-i'</i> it looks as though it will rain (for -w- see § 14, 3, c)
<i>to'aya-q-ari-</i> to sit watching <i>-mū-</i> after	<i>tɔɔ'ayax:qarīpīya'</i> sat watching <i>ɣni'ɣumī'tsiaŋA</i> having done so to him
<i>ma-</i> with the hand + <i>pɔ:tɔq-wa-</i> to be round	<i>wa'm-awɔx:tɔq-waqainA</i> what had been hand-rounded out of mud (<i>wa-</i>)
<i>ma-</i> + <i>to:q-wa-</i> to stretch	<i>ma(·)ro'O²qwa(i)y'iq-wA</i> (I) stretch it
<i>sri'k-u-</i> Salt Lake	<i>sri'²kɣvut-ux-wA</i> to Salt Lake

The rule for glottally affected syllables having a long vowel is parallel to that of short-voweled syllables (see a). A reducible second mora is unvoiced if the glottal stop belongs properly to the preceding syllable (see *-cīrī'ya-* above), but retained intact if the glottal stop inheres in its own syllable, e. g.:

<i>-²a-</i> , <i>-a'-</i> not to be	<i>qanqa'mīa'q-ut-u'ac-ampA</i> though others are not jack-rabbits (not, as one might expect, * <i>qanqa'- mī'a²qu-</i>)
--	--

Examples occur, however, in which the glottalized long vowel is broken, the reducible second mora appearing as a murmured vowel (cf. 2, a, end), e. g.:

kwit-u- anus + *-u:p-a-* through *kwit'u''up-a-ni* through my anus

(c) *Treatment of diphthongs.* The *i* or *u* of a diphthong, if in a reducible mora, loses its voice and undergoes the developments

already given (see a). Thus, *au* becomes *av*, *av'*, *av^z*, *a^zv*; *ai* becomes *ai*, *a(i)^z*, generally with *i*-glide as *aii*, *ai'*, *ai(i)^z* (the *-ai-* here is extremely brief, better written *a'*). Examples are:

<i>uḡwa'i-k'ai-</i> to be hanging	<i>uwa'izka'</i>
<i>piya'i-</i> to be left over	<i>piyai pīya'</i> was left over
<i>mava'i-ti-yan-ia-</i> to a distance	<i>ma(.)va^ztiyan-i'</i>
<i>im^wi-</i> several arrive	<i>im^wi'ipīya'</i> several arrived

For treatment of *-au-*, see 2, a. Note that non-final *ai* is treated differently from final *ai*; e. g. from *pīni'k'ai-* TO SEE are formed *pīni'k'a'* TO SEE and *pa-vi'nikaipīya'* SAW WATER.

The reduced *-i-* or *-u-* of a glottalized diphthong is "murmured," e. g.:

<i>aqɔ'(ɔ)i-</i> several sleep	<i>A^zqo''ipīya'</i> several slept
<i>-qwa'(a)i-</i> off	<i>cim^wi'x-qwa^ai'pīya'</i> left in going off

Nevertheless, full unreduced vowels were generally recorded in such cases (cf. 2, a, end), e. g.:

<i>ya'(a)i-</i> to die	<i>pa'pa'q-a(i)ya'aipīya'</i> kept groaning with pain (lit., dying of pain)
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SYLLABIC STRUCTURE AND ACCENT (§ § 9-11).

§ 9. Syllables and moras.

Every Paiute syllable consists, properly speaking, of a vowel (long or short) or diphthong preceded, or unpreceded, by a consonant (e. g. *u-*, *o-*, *ai-*, *pī-*, *to-*, *pai-*); or of such a primary syllable stopped by a nasal consonant (*m*, *n*, *ŋ*) that is itself followed by a stopped consonant or *w* (e. g. *aŋ-qa-*, *ain-tci-*, *fiŋ-qa-*, *va-n-ti-*, *nīŋ-wi-*). It is somewhat doubtful whether vowels followed by geminated consonants are to be considered as ending their syllable or not (e. g. *ap-i'i-* as *a-p-i'i-* or *ap-pī-i-*). Morphology and the unvoicing of vowels before geminated stopped consonants (see § 10) suggest the former; direct phonetic observation apparently the latter. It is quite possible, as suggested by etymology, that *ŋw* also is best considered as belonging to the following syllable (e. g. *nī-ŋwi-* < **nī-mī-*). A syllable may be either entirely voiceless or only so in its second

mora (e. g. *A'-*, *ai'-*, *-q'A-*, *-q'ai'-*); see § 8. A glottal stop may be found at the beginning or end of a syllable, or in the middle of it (e. g. *-n'ni-*, *-n'i-*, *-ni'-*; *-p'a-*, *-p'a-*, *-pa'a-*, *-pá-*, *-pa'-*); see § 15, 2.

Of greater phonologic importance than the division of a word into syllables is that into units of length, moras. The vowels are to be taken as the measures of these moras. Every organic short vowel (voiced or unvoiced) counts for one mora; every long vowel or diphthong (voiced or partly unvoiced) for two. Syllabically final nasals do not affect the mora as quantitative unit. By way of illustration, *qani'va-ntux-wA* has six moras (*qa-* + *-nu* + *-va-* + *-an-* + *-tu-* + *-xWA* < *-γwa-*); *a'iyucampa-ŋani* has eight (*a-* + *-i-* + *-yu-* + *-cam-* + *-pa-* + *-a-* + *-ŋa-* + *-ni* < *-ni-*). The first, third, fifth moras, and so on, will be styled uneven moras; the second, fourth, sixth, and so on, even moras.

It is very important to note that all inorganic increments and losses have no effect on the mora-construction of the word. Secondary lengthening of short vowels, pseudo-diphthongization, glide vowels, shortening of long vowels or diphthongs all have no effect. Thus, *qa(:)ni'va(au)ŋwi* < *qani'vaŋwi* has four, not seven, moras; on the other hand, *mam-a''(a)ŋt'wa-n'iar'oni* WILL (THEY) LOSE ME? < *mam-a''ŋt'uwa-n'iar'uani* has thirteen, not eleven, moras. Long vowels resulting from contraction of long + short vowels, however, count as ordinary long vowels (e. g. *-va-* + *-aq'a-* gives *-va-q'a-*, counting for three, not four, moras). Similarly, vowel + diphthong results in a two-moraed diphthong (e. g. *ma-* + *-ai-* gives *mai*, *maai-*, counting for two, not three, moras). In other words, no three-moraed syllables are found.

A glottalized syllable with long vowel or diphthong counts for two moras; e. g. *ya'(a)i-* TO DIE is two-moraed like *ya(a)i-* TO HUNT, *-v(a)'a-* of *qani'v(a)'a-mi* AT THY HOUSE two-moraed like *-va-* of *qani'va-ni* AT MY HOUSE. A glottalized syllable with short vowel counts for two-moraed if the glottal stop is inherent (cf. § 8, 1, a, end; 2, a, end; § 15, 1) (e. g. *sa'a-* TO BOIL; *-n'ni-*, *-n'i'-* continuative; *'a-* of *'a'-t-i-* GOOD). Otherwise the glottal stop has no effect on the quantitative value of the syllable. Thus, *-pa'a-* of *nampa''ami* THY FOOT is one-moraed, like *-pa-* of *nampa'ni* MY FOOT; contrast two-moraed *-p'a-* of *a'uṗ-aŋqip'ya'* CAME ALONG THROUGH IT. The external syllabification does not matter. Both one-moraed and two-moraed glottalized syllables may appear broken or truly monosyllabic; e. g. *-uṗ'a-* or *-up'a'a-* THROUGH (two-moraed *-p'a-*), *qani'p'imī* or *qani'p'v'imī* THEIR OLD CAMP (one-moraed *-p'i-*). A glottal stop com-

ing between two distinct vowels, whether these form a true diphthong or not, does not add a mora to either; e. g. *-tu'i-* and *-ru'a-* are both two-moraed, not three-moraed. An initial vowel preceded by a glottal stop, not belonging to the preceding word, or, what is equivalent, an initial broken vowel, is always two-moraed; e. g. (i)'i'- or i'i'- of i'i'p-i-, (i)'i'p-i- TO DRINK REPEATEDLY is two-moraed (contrast -i- of nī' i'v'i'ŋU I DRINK, which is one-moraed). m^wa'- THAT also counts as a two-moraed syllable; it is apparently related to ma'- THAT as is (i)'i'- THIS to i'- THIS (see § 43).

§ 10. Accent.

In Southern Paiute accentuation is governed primarily by moras, not syllables. The fundamental law of accentuation is a *law of alternating stresses*. According to this all odd moras are "weak" or relatively unstressed, all even moras are "strong" or relatively stressed. The theoretically strongest stress of the word comes on the second mora. Hence, all words beginning with a syllable containing an organic long vowel or diphthong or an inherent glottal stop are accented on the first syllable; e. g. pa-'v'a:x:1 OVER THE WATER, ma(a)'i:k-ainani WHAT I SAID, (e)'a't-i'ŋqani GOOD HOUSE. On the other hand, all words beginning with a syllable containing an organic short vowel, inherently unglottalized, are accented on the second syllable, unless the second syllable is final and therefore unvoiced, in which case the main stress is thrown back on the first syllable; e. g. mava''a:x:1 OVER THAT, qa(·)'ni'ntcui' BUILDS A HOUSE, qa(·)'ni HOUSE. Actually the main stress is sometimes, but not at all frequently, heard displaced to another than the theoretically justified syllable, but this displacement is as secondary and inorganic as the secondary lengthening of short vowels. Aside from the final mora, which is always unvoiced, only a weak mora may be unvoiced.

(1) UNVOICING UNDER THE LAW OF ALTERNATING STRESSES. We may now state the full law of non-final unvoicing. Aside from the next to the last mora, which is always preserved intact (owing to the unvoicing of the following mora), every weak mora standing before a geminated stop (*p*; *t*; *t c*, *t s*; *q*; *k*; *q w*, *k w*) or sibilant (*c*, *s*; postvocalic sibilants are always to be understood as geminated) loses its voice. A diphthong or long vowel can be partly unvoiced only when its second mora is weak, as its first mora, if weak, is protected from unvoicing by the vocalic second mora; similarly, a short-

voweled syllable with inherent glottal stop is always preserved, as it can not lose both its moras. The weak second mora of an inherently glottalized long vowel or diphthong or a weak-moraed vowel separated from an immediately preceding vowel by a glottal stop is either preserved or, at most, "murmured" (see § 8, 2, a, end; b, end; c, end). The law of alternating stresses necessarily means that there is a constant alternation of voiced and unvoiced (or murmured) vowels in non-final syllables of related words. Examples are:

<i>tcaq'(a)i-tsi-</i> younger brother	<i>tca²q(a)'its</i> younger brother: <i>nantca'q'(a)i-tsiŋwī</i> brothers to each other
<i>paq-a-</i> to kill	<i>pA²qa'i</i> kills: <i>fiw'a'q-ai</i> kills game (<i>-vaq-a-</i> < <i>paq-a-</i> , see § 16, 1)
<i>-yu-c-ampa-</i> although -ing	<i>fiw'a'q-aywai'yuc-ampa</i> though not killing game: <i>qu'quw'ŋ'wai-yucampa</i> though not shooting
<i>-ŋwit-uywa-</i> toward	<i>uyu'm'aywit-ux-wa</i> away from it: <i>nani'n'naŋwitux-wa</i> towards different directions (<i>-n'na-</i> counts for two moras)
<i>puc-ayai-</i> to look for + <i>-p'üyai-</i> remote past	<i>pu'ca'yaip'üya'</i> looked for: <i>nampu'e-ayaiḡya'</i> looked for trail
<i>təyq-wi-</i> to run	<i>təyq'q-wituiŋwa</i> cause him to run: <i>tə'to'x'quwiyiŋi</i> I run repeatedly (< <i>tə'tə'yəqwi-</i>)

(2) EFFECT OF LAW OF ALTERNATING STRESSES ON GLOTTALIZED VOWELS. As we shall see later (§ 15, 2, a), a broken vowel (e. g. *a'a*) constantly alternates with the types ' + vowel and vowel + '. To a considerable extent, though not with absolute regularity, these variations tend to adjust themselves to the law of alternating stresses. The group *v'v'* tends to preserve that form, or its close variant *v''v* (or *v'*), if the (first) *v* is in a strong mora, but the form *'v* (or *''v*) if in a weak one. In the latter case the ' may appear immediately before, after, or welded with the preceding consonant. Initially after a consonant *-v'v-* is usual. The form *v'v* applies both to one-moraed groups broken from *v* and to primary two-moraed groups. Examples of alternation are:

¹ In formulae of this sort *v* stands for vowel, *c* for consonant.

-ya-	plural imperative + -' . .	<i>təʔ'qwaɣa'amī</i>	-ya ¹ amī ¹	ye 2
mī-	dual subject >	-ya'amī-	run: <i>ivī'y'amī</i>	ye 2 drink
-na-	verbal noun + -' . .	<i>mi-</i>	<i>ampa'ɣana'amī</i>	-na ¹ amī thy
thy			talking: <i>qa'namī</i>	thy singing
<i>təʔ'p-i</i> , <i>-təʔ'ompi-</i>	hole (<i>təʔ-</i> is two-moraed)		<i>moʔ'itə'mpi</i>	nose-hole
-' . .	<i>ɣwa-</i> him (invis.)		<i>pA²qa'ɣumpa'aŋWA</i>	will kill him:
			<i>pA²qa'q-uŋWA</i>	give him a lick- ing
<i>wa'a'-</i>	cedar		<i>w(a)'a'p-I</i>	cedar tree
<i>sa'a'-</i>	to boil		<i>s(a)'a'p-I</i>	boiled; mush
<i>məʔ'ə'-</i>	hand		<i>m(o)'ə'φI</i>	hand

A parallel alternation is to be observed in the case of glottalized diphthongs. Thus, *a'(a)i* appears either, with strong first mora, as *a'ai* (or *a'i*), or, with weak first mora, as *'ai*. Examples are:

- <i>ɣw(a)'ai-</i>	together with	<i>pavi'tsɣwa'aiφi</i>	with his own elder brother:
- <i>ɣw(a)'ai-</i>	to go (in order to)	<i>imi'ɣw'ai'mpa'</i>	shall go with thee
		<i>wara'xani'xwa'aiχa'</i>	going to collect grass seeds: <i>putci'ɣw'ai'-</i> <i>p'iɣa'</i> arrived
<i>tiʔ'ic'ir(a)'ai-</i>	to tell a lie	<i>tiʔ'ic'ira'a.i'</i>	tells a lie: <i>ti'ti'-</i> <i>φ'ic'ir'a-i''</i> tells lies several times (<i>-a-i'</i> < <i>-ai-yi-</i>)

Frequently, also, a weak-moraed vowel, particularly *a* or *i*, is elided before a glottal stop followed by a different vowel, e. g.:

<i>wi'a'</i>	penis	<i>w(i)'a'p-I</i>	penis
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An initial (v)'v'- is either a broken v- (e. g. *a'a't-i-*, (^o)*a't-i-* GOOD) or contracted from v- + -'v-. There is no phonetic or mora-quantitative difference between the two types. Examples of contracted initial (v)'v'- are:

<i>u-</i>	that + -'urai-	toward	<i>u'u'ra'</i> , (^u) <i>u'ra'</i>	toward it
<i>a-</i>	that + -'axavacurɣwa-	right into	<i>a'a'xavacuxWA</i> , (^o) <i>a'xavacu-</i> <i>xWA</i>	right into it.

(3) APPARENT VIOLATIONS OF LAW OF ALTERNATING STRESSES.
There are several purely delusive violations of the law of alternating

¹The ' indicates a secondary stress on a strong mora.

stresses that are due to such inorganic processes as pseudo-diphthongization or glides; e. g. in *tcA'tca'p-ayaitca'gainA* (ITS) HAVING BEEN TORN TO PIECES, *-yai-* is developed from *-yi-* (see § 3, 2, a) and thus counts for only one mora. On the other hand, in an example like *tī'ηqA²qarī* to run away hard, the short vowel of *tī'-* is only secondarily shortened from a two-moraed *tī-* (cf. *tī'ntayag-wī* TO RUN HARD). A few errors are sure to have crept in also; e. g. *A'tī'xīqarīp-īya'* SAT NURSING, no doubt either misheard or misdictated for *A'tī'xīqarīp-īya'*.

Aside from such only apparent examples, there are, however, certain cases (apart from *m'a'-* THAT, already specified) of initial short-voweled and non-glottalized syllables that seem to count for two moras and hence to bear the main stress. Of these, *tī'campa* ALWAYS is evidently to be explained by reference to its less frequently heard variant *i'tī'campa*. Less easy to explain are:

<i>ī'-</i> in vain	<i>ī'p'in'in'nī</i> looks around in vain
<i>tī'ra-</i> desert, incomplete	<i>tī'RA'cin'awxaiva-ntī</i> shall be desert-dog; <i>tī'rauq-wīāfi</i> his own unfeathered arrow

tī'ηwī- HURRIEDLY is regularly so accented (except as adverb *tīηwī'n A*), but counts for two, not three, moras; e. g. *tī'ηwīriqamuyani* I ALWAYS EAT QUICKLY. Judging by *tī'-* < *tī'-* (see above), *ī'-* may be really shortened from *ī'-*. As for *tī'ra-*, there has evidently been some contraction, as we find *pa-rī'yara-va'* OUT IN THE RAIN (lit. WATER-DESERT-AT), but *tī'ra-va'* OUT IN THE OPEN.

An interesting group of violations, or apparent violations, of the law of alternating stresses is embraced by forms with secondarily lost reduplicating syllable with voiceless vowel (cf. *tī'campa* < *i'tī'campa* above). Such forms alternate with, though less frequent than, intact reduplicated forms. Examples are:

<i>pītcī'-</i> to arrive	(<i>pī'</i>) <i>pī'tcīp-īya'</i> arrived
<i>pī-tī'na-</i> to follow with one's eye	(<i>pī'</i>) <i>pī'tīnap-īya'</i> followed with (their) eyes
<i>pa²qa'ηUpīya'</i> one killed (one person)	(<i>pa²</i>) <i>pa'q-aṇup-īya'</i> several killed (one person)
<i>tīv'pī</i> country	(<i>tī'</i>) <i>tī'φ'īpīayai'pīāfi</i> their former countries

From *pu'tcu'tcuṛwa-* TO KNOW are sometimes formed *pu'tcutcuṛwa-* as substitute for reduplicated *pu'pu'tcutcuṛwa-* (e. g. *wī'i'p'v'tcu-*

tcuɣwa- TO KNOW HOW TO DANCE); and, by haplology, *putcuɣwa-* (e. g. *qa'p'u'tcuɣwat'ui-* TO TEACH HOW TO SING < *qa'p'u'tcu'tcuɣwat'ui-*).

An initial *i-* is sometimes lost before a following organic *y*. This also brings about an only apparent violation of the law of alternating stresses.

iyö'vi- mourning dove
(cf. Ute *aiö'vi-*)

yö'vi-

This is different from the consonantizing of prevocalic *i* and *u* to *y* and *w* respectively (see § 3, 2, d; 5, a), where there is no real loss involved. Initial *i* of *iɣĩR* INDEED is frequently elided (see § 60, 3), e. g.:

a'ia-ŋ iɣĩR that-he indeed (said) *a'ia-ŋ ġĩR*

-χain'ia- too + *iɣĩR*

nĩn'a'χwα'χain' i ġĩR of me too
indeed

§ 11. *Loss of one or more moras.*

All the losses referred to in § 10, 2 and 3, are, in a sense, only apparent, as they do not influence the original rhythmic framework of the word. Fundamental alternations of mora-structure are, however, also found, which follow the law of alternating stresses. Certain words lose a mora in some, not necessarily all, compounds, generally when occurring as the first element of a compound. Certain suffixed elements, also, alternate between a longer and a shorter form.

Particularly common is alternation between a primary long and a reduced short vowel. Examples are:

pa- water

pa- in compounds: *pa-rĩ'ia-* elk (lit., water-deer); *pa-γĩ'u-* fish; *pa'-sö'rövcĩcĩ* waterfall; *pa-ŋw'a'öĩ* mud at bottom of water

o- arrow

u- in compounds: *u-ru'q-u-* to fix an arrow; *u-γu'n'a-* quiver (lit., arrow-bag)

ti- up

ti-: *ti'na'ŋqwa* upward, from the west

wĩ'ci'a- feather

wĩ'ci'a-: *wĩ'ci'a'swai-* to scrape a quill smooth

An element containing a diphthong or two vowels in immediate juxtaposition sometimes loses the second vowel, e. g. *-yai-* TO HAVE: participial *-ya-nfi-* HAVING (see § 25, 6, a); *-qai-* perfective: participial *-q-a-nfi-* HAVING -ED (see § 25, 6, d); *-mia-* usitative: *-mi-* (see § 30, 10).

A post-consonantal vowel may also drop out, in which case the preceding consonant also disappears or, if a nasal, may leave its trace in the "nasalizing" power of the stem. Examples are:

<i>u-yu'n-a-</i> quiver	<i>un'a'-:</i> <i>yn'a'v̄ya-</i> to put away a quiver
<i>fi'γ'a-v̄-</i> deer-hide (<i>γ</i> probably inorganic in origin, see § 14, 1)	<i>fi'a'v̄-:</i> <i>fi'a'v̄ra'</i> deer-hide shirt
<i>in-i'-</i> what (person, animal)?	<i>im-pi'-</i> what (thing)?
<i>pa'a'n-i-</i> to be high	<i>pa'a'-n:</i> <i>pa'a'nfi-</i> high
<i>-v'ana-</i> upon	<i>-v'an-tuγwa-</i> on to
<i>naγwa'-</i> trail, track	<i>na'-:</i> <i>nanti'na-</i> to follow one's track; <i>nampu'e ayai-</i> to look for tracks
<i>nāγw̄-</i> person	<i>nā'-:</i> <i>nāmpi'γwaφi</i> somebody else's wife; <i>nāγqa'n-φi</i> somebody else's house; <i>nāntu'ayq̄-</i> to give birth to one; <i>nī'c̄i'-m^wia-</i> to let a person go

Even cases of the complete loss of two contiguous moras are found, e. g.:

<i>fi'γ'a-</i> deer	<i>fi-:</i> <i>fi^wa'q-a-</i> to kill game
<i>uru'a'-</i> carrying strap	<i>uru-:</i> <i>ɔ'tca'uru</i> strap by which water-jar is carried

CONSONANTS (§ § 12-16).

§ 12. Survey of consonants.

A large number of consonants is found in Southern Paiute, but as with the vowels, they reduce to a comparatively small number of primary consonants. Before taking up consonantal processes in detail, we shall give a descriptive table of consonants actually found.

	Unaspirated Stops	Aspirated Stops	Voiced Spirants	Voiceless Spirants	Affricatives	Voiced Nasals	Voiceless Nasals	Voiced Rolled	Voiceless Rolled
Labial	<i>p</i>	<i>pʰ</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>ɸ</i>		<i>m</i>	<i>M</i>		
Labial (rounded)	<i>pʷ</i>	<i>pʷʰ</i>	<i>vʷ; w</i>	<i>ɸʷ; wʰ</i>		<i>mʷ</i>	<i>mʷ</i>		
Dental	<i>t</i>	<i>tʰ</i>				<i>n</i>	<i>N</i>		
Alveolar				<i>s</i>	<i>ts; tsʰ</i>			<i>r</i>	<i>R</i>
c-Palatal				<i>c</i>	<i>tc; tcʰ</i>	<i>ɲʷ</i>			
Anterior	<i>k</i>	<i>kʰ, kʰʰ</i>	<i>ɣ, ʒ; y</i>	<i>x; ʃ; ʎ</i>		<i>ɲ</i>			
Palatal									
Anterior Pal- atal Labial- ized			<i>ɣʷ, ʒʷ</i>	<i>(xw)</i>					
Back Palatal	<i>k, q</i>	<i>kʰ, qʰ</i>	<i>ɣ, ʒ</i>	<i>x; ʃ</i>		<i>ŋ</i>			
Back Palatal	<i>kw, qw</i>	<i>kʷ, qʷ</i>	<i>ɣw, ʒw</i>	<i>xw</i>		<i>ŋw</i>	<i>ŋʷ</i>		
Labialized									
Glottal				<i>h; ʔ</i>					

(1) PRIMARY CONSONANTS. This rather elaborate scheme is based on only twelve, at most thirteen, primary consonants: *p; t; k (q); kw (qw); s(c); ts (tc); m; n; ŋ; w; y; ʔ*; possibly also initial *h(-ʔ)*.

(2) SURVEY OF CONSONANTAL DEVELOPMENTS. We shall give here a rapid survey of consonantal developments, showing the relation of the consonantal forms actually found (including several not listed above) to the primary consonants.

(a) *Unvoicing*. The aspirated stops (*pʰ; pʷʰ; tʰ; kʰ, kʰʰ* —generally written *kʰʰ; kʰ, qʰ; kw, qw*), written simply *p, t*, and so on, before voiceless vowels (e. g. *pi, tA*); the aspirated affricatives (*tcʰ, tsʰ*), written *tc, ts* before voiceless vowels (e. g. *tcī*); most of the voiceless spirants (*ɸ; ɸʷ; w; ʃ; ʃʰ; x; xʰ; xw; ʔ*); the voiceless or partly voiceless nasals (*M, mM; mʷ; N, nN; ŋw*); and the voiceless rolled *R* are all developed from the corresponding unaspirated or voiced forms, or as glides, in connection with the unvoicing of moras (see § 8). It is unnecessary to detail these developments here.

The unaspirated stops and affricatives occur as such only initially before a voiced vowel and medially after an unvoiced vowel (e. g. *pīcī-, Aʔīi-*); otherwise they are either "nasalized" (e. g. *ampaŋa-*,

aintci-; see § 16, 3) or "geminated" (e. g. *fiw^waq-a-*, *i'ip-i-*; see § 16, 2). Aspirated stops and affricatives may also be nasalized or geminated (e. g. *q'-A*, *nti*). The typical unaspirated stop or affricative is probably an "intermediate" when nasalized, geminated, or medial after a voiceless vowel (in which case it is always geminated in origin; see § 10, 1); and a true surd when initial before a vowel. However, it is difficult to be certain as to these two modes of articulation. The "intermediate" quality is most certain after nasals before voiced vowels and in the release of unaspirated geminated stops and affricatives. It is possible that the attack of the geminated stop and affricative is a true surd.

(b) *Spirantization*. All spirants (except *s*, *c*; *w*, *w'*; *y*, *y'*; *z*, *z'*, *'*; *h-*, *'-*) and rolled consonants (*r*, *R*) are developed from stopped consonants (see § 16, 1); *ɣw* (*ɣ*) is either "spirantized" from *m* (see § 16, 1) or developed from intervocalic *w* (see § 13, 2). *v* (*φ*) is bilabial in articulation; for *v^w* (*φ^w*) see § 14, 3, b. *r* (*R*) is lightly trilled, apparently in typically alveolar position, probably modified slightly by its tendency to take on vocalic timbres; it was never heard as *d*. *ɣ* is either fully voiced (as in North German *Tage*) or intermediate (*χ*); for *ɣ* see below.

(c) *Geminated or long consonants*. For geminated stops and affricatives see (a) above. Intervocalic *m*, *n*, *ɣ*, and *s*, *c* are very frequently heard long. It is highly probable that this, particularly for *m*, *n*, and *s*, *c*, is their etymologically typical form and that original Shoshonean intervocalic short *m*, *n*, and *s*, possibly also *ɣ*, have disappeared as such. Long *x*, *x^w* (*x^w*), *ɣ* generally occur as developments of *ɣ*, *ɣw*, *ɣ* in voiceless positions (see § 8), rarely intervocalically (see § 13, 5, c).

(d) *Glottalized consonants*. For glottalized stops and affricatives (e. g. *p'*, *q'*, *tc*) and nasals (*m'm*, *n'n*, *ɣ'w*) see § 15, 2, b.

(e) *Anterior palatals*. Aside from *y* (and its voiceless development *r*), anterior palatals (including labialized anterior palatals) develop from back palatals (and labialized back palatals); see § 13, 4.

(f) *Rounded labial consonants*. Aside from *w* (and its voiceless development *w'*), these are all developed from ordinary labial consonants; see § 14, 3, b.

(g) *Alternation of k and q*. By *q* is meant a back palatal stop of moderately velar articulation. Its average position, as determined

by such a group as *aq'a*, is distinctly further back than our English *k*-position in *cold*, yet not so decidedly velar in character as *q* of such a language as Kwakiutl. Its greatest degree of velarity is reached in such examples as *qo'i-* and *toγq-wi-*, i. e. before and after *o*. We shall use *q* and *qw* after all vowels but *i*, when followed by any vowel other than *i*. Before *i* the back palatal becomes distinctly more forward in articulation, about like the *k*-sound of English *cold* or perhaps even *can*; this position is here normally designated as *k*, *kw*. After an *i* the *k* becomes an anterior palatal (see *e* above). Positions analogous to *k* (*kw*) and *q* (*qw*) are doubtless to be found also in the spirants *γ* (*χ*, *x*), *γw* (*xw*, *xw*). Thus, *γ* of *toγo'q-wi-* is certainly more velar than *γ* of *tiγi'a-*. However, these phonetic distinctions have here been neglected.

(h) *Alternation of s and c*. These two sibilants are respectively pronounced as in English *sip* and *ship*, except that *c* tends to approach a quality intermediate between the true *s* and *c*. There is some sporadic interchange between *s* and *c*, as between *ts* and *tc*, but on the whole they are used with considerable distinctness according to vocalic position. For secondary assimilations see § 13, 8.

Initially, *s* is regularly used before *a*, *i*, and *o*; *c* before *i* (which often develops to *i*, *ɛ*; see § 3, 2, b) and *u*. Examples are: *sa-* RAW, *san'a-* GUM, *sa'a-* TO BOIL, *saywa-* BLUE, *sayw(ɛ)ia-* BELLY, *saywa-* SAGEBRUSH; *siγu-* NAVEL, *sik'u-* SQUIRREL, *siva-* TO WHITTLE, *siu-* GRAVEL, *si'i-* TO URINATE; *so'a-* TO SOUND LIKE FLOWING WATER, *soo-* LUNG, *soγo-* MOIST GROUND, *sopik-i-* BRAINS, *so'r'oa-* ARM-PIT, *sotsu-* TO PEEP; *cii-* SQUAW-BUSH, *cim'ia-* TO LET GO, *cinūmpī-* VULVA, *ciri'ya-* TO BE SURPRISED, *c'i-* BLOSSOM; *cu(w)a-* TO EAT UP; NEARLY, *cu-* ONE, *cumai-* TO THINK OF, *cururuin'na-* SMOKE-HOLE, *cu(w)ai-* TO BE GLAD. These rules are only infrequently violated, e. g. *caywa-*, less frequent form of *saywa-* BLUE; *co'ya-* TO BEND, *con-i-* TINDER.

Medially, both preceding and following vowel must be considered. Before *a*, *i*, and *u*, *c* regularly appears, regardless of what vowel precedes the sibilant, e. g. *maa'-c-aywa-* BRUSH-BLUE, GREEN (contrast *saywa-* above), *qwic'a-* TO SPARK, *qic'avi-* HAWK, *tc'a-* WHITE, *oc'a-* CARRYING-BASKET, *puc-ay'ai-* TO LOOK FOR, *paru'c'a-* VIRGIN RIVER; *qwac-i-* TO BE RIPE, *aic-i-* BUTTERFLY, *yiv'ic'iap-i-* LONG-LEAVED PINE SAPLING, *tiv'ic'ira'ai-* TO TELL A LIE, *tv'c'iaq-arī-* BROWN; *aqac-u-* HE, *i'c-u-* LONG AGO, *itcic-u-* THIS ALSO, *mec'oi-* MUSTACHE, *qut-uc-u-* GIANT. Only rarely does *s* appear before medial *a*, e. g. *qamī'saywaya'tsγantī* HAVING A JACK-RABBIT STOMACH. The anal-

ogy of a simplex in *sa-* may explain many of these cases. Before *i*, *s* regularly appears if *i* or *a* precedes, but *c* if *i*, *u*, or *o* precedes, e. g. *tümp^wi's-iyaxantí* ROCK HAVING A CRACK; *as-i-* ROAN-COLORED, *as-ia-* SURFACE, *quas-i-* TAIL, *u'ra-s-i-* POTATOES; *äic-i-* BASKET (*-ci-* not < *-c-i-*, as shown by assimilation of *t* to *tc* in *äic-utcu-* TO MAKE A BASKET, see § 13, 3), *añ'wíc-i-* TO SNEEZE (*-ci-* < *-c-i-*, not *-c-i-*, as shown by palatalized *k* in plural *añ'wíc'ka-*, see § 13, 4); *nən-ə-c-i-* TO DREAM, true *-i-*, cf. plural *nən-ə-c'ka-*); *u'qu'cixi'a'* NOCK (true *-i-*, as shown by palatalized *χ*). Of these *-as-i-* tends to vary with less frequent *-ac-i-*, e. g. *ta-na'cixā-* CLEFT IN HOOF (cf. *pi-na'sixā-* BETWEEN ONE'S LEGS), *tA'pa'c'kai-* WAS SENSELESS (perhaps *-a's-i-* tends to become *a'c-i-*, but *-as-i-* to remain). Before *o*, *s* seems to be regular if *a* or *i* precedes, while both *s* and *c* have been found when *o* precedes, e. g. *pA'sō'rōritcī* WATERFALL; *pis'ə-* CHILDREN; *ə-s-ə-nwi-* TO SNORE, *qə-c-ə-vi-* TINDER.

The rule is far simpler for the use of *tc* and *ts*. The former is regularly employed before *a*, *i*, *o*, and *u*; the latter only before *i* (which then often develops to *i*, see § 3, 2, b). These rules apply both initially and medially. Examples are: *tca-* WRINKLED, *MA'tca'ianqī-* TO REACH FOR; *tcīya-* DUCK, *itci-* THIS; *tcōi-* BEAD, *qī'tcō'χwd.i'* CHEWS; *tcuxwi-* TO APPROACH, *patcu'q-u* BEAVER; *tsip-i-* TO APPEAR, *tət-si-* HEAD. There is a slight tendency for *ts* to appear before *a* medially and before *o* both initially and medially, e. g. *mantsaywina-* TO THROW DOWN SEVERAL OBJECTS; *qatsəa-* (also *qatcəa-*) TOP, *tsəvī-* SHOULDER. As for quality, *tc* and *ts* are not as clearly distinct as are *ch* and *ts* of English *church* and *hats* respectively, *ts* in particular tending to an intermediate point of articulation; *tc* is probably purest before *i* and *u*, also when developed from *t* (see § 13, 3).

§ 13. Consonantal processes.

(1) OCCURRENCE OF *h*, *'*. Only such cases are here considered as are not due to unvoicing of moras (see § 8).

(a) *Initial Aspiration*. Certain words that begin with a vowel are frequently heard preceded by aspiration, e. g. *ai-*, *'ai-* TO SAY; demonstrative *a-*, *ai-*, *'a-*, *'ai-* (see § 43), whence *an-i-*, *'an-i-* TO DO; *atci-*, *'atci-* BOW. Comparison with other Shoshonean dialects suggests that in part, at least, these initial aspirations are the representatives of a Shoshonean *h-*; e. g. *aya-*, less frequently *'aya-* WHAT?: *Agua Caliente haxa* WHO? Initial *'* is found also in certain interjections, e. g. *'q* SURPRISE; *'aa'ik-wi* OH! Initial *'* does not function as a consonant,

hence does not prevent elision (see § 7); e. g. *a'i* *ɿr̥* 'a*imi*' THAT INDEED THOU SAYEST, not *ɿr̥*.

(b) *Developed from -s-, -c-*. This sporadic development occurs only medially, never in a final syllable. The *-h-* is strongly aspirated and seems to be particularly common after a voiceless vowel, e. g.:

<i>imi'acampa</i> thee only	<i>imi'hampa</i>
<i>mam-a'caywɔits</i> old woman	<i>mam-a'haywɔits</i>
<i>qī'ca'p-ai-</i> to sup	<i>qīha'p-ai-</i>
<i>tɔ'ca'-</i> white	<i>tɔha'-, t'ha'-</i>
<i>pīni'ḡwaq'ucu'ḡwa</i> while he not	<i>pīni'ḡwaq'ho'ḡwa</i>
still sees	
(negative <i>-ḡwa-</i> counts for two moras)	

(c) *Inorganic -'-*. Rarely is an inorganic *-'* introduced before a voiced consonant or glottal stop. It may take on the timbre of the preceding vowel. Examples are:

<i>cīna'ḡwafi</i> coyote	<i>cī'na'ḡwafi</i>
<i>"m" a'icampa'a</i> enough thou	<i>"m" a'icampa'a'a'</i> (see § 4, 2, c)
<i>mam-a'rīna-</i> several pursue	<i>maAma'rīnaq'upīyaic' uḡwa</i>
	again (they) pursued him

(2) *POSTVOCALIC w*. An intervocalic *-w-* is ordinarily a glide (see § 14, 3, a). When an initial *w* comes, by derivation or compounding, to stand after a vowel, it regularly becomes nasalized to *-ḡw-*:

<i>wa'aḡi-</i> to shout	<i>tī'ḡwa'aḡi-</i> to give a good shout
<i>wīnu-</i> to stand	<i>yaḡw'ḡwīnuḡa'</i> while standing and holding
<i>waiḡa-</i> to have a council	<i>na'a'wḡwaiḡap-i</i> council (of chiefs)
<i>wa'tcī'</i> to catch up with	<i>cu(w)a'ḡwa'tcīp'ḡya'</i> nearly caught up with
<i>w(')itsi'-</i> bird	<i>tī'raḡ'wntsi'uts</i> horned lark (lit., desert bird)

This rule does not operate, however, when *w* becomes intervocalic by reduplication:

<i>wīḡi-</i> vulva	<i>wūwī'xīA</i> vulvas (obj.)
<i>waḡi-</i> several enter	<i>wawa'xipīya'</i> all entered

wün-ai- to throw
wa'a'tcɣi- to whoop

wüw'i'n'nai- several throw down
wa'wa'a'tcɣi- to whoop several
times

Exceptional is also *a-ɣa-wantcī-* TO HIDE, lit. TO PUT (*watcī-*) IN HIDING, perhaps dissimilated from *a-ɣa-ɣwantcī-*, itself nasalized from *a-ɣaɣwatcī-* (see § 16, 3). Its reduplicated forms are partly *a-ɣa-ɣwaɣwantcī-* (e. g. *a'ɣaɣwaɣwantcīqaiwa'* SEVERAL SHALL KEEP HIDDEN), partly *a-ɣaɣwa'watcī-* (e. g. *a'ɣaɣwa'watcīyini* HIDES ME SEVERAL TIMES); see § 58, 4, e.

(3) ASSIBILATION OF DENTALS. No dental consonant, aside from *n*, i. e. *t* and its derivatives *t'*, *r*, *R*, is, with very few exceptions, found before *i*. Comparison with other Shoshonean or Uto-Aztekan dialects shows that an original Shoshonean *ti* became assibilated to *tsi*, e. g. noun ending *-tsi-*: Tübatulabal and Southern Californian *-t*. Further, comparison shows that an original Shoshonean *ati* not only, in Southern Paiute, assibilates the *t* but also shifts the *i* to *ĩ*, whence *atcĩ*. Most Plateau dialects have *atĩ* in these cases, e. g.:

Shoshonean **ati* bow

S.P. *atcĩ-*

> Bankalachi *a-li-t*,

Shikaviyam *ε'dĩ*,

Mono *eti*

Shoshonean **pati* daughter

S.P. *patcĩ-* (original Shoshonean

> N. Paiute *padĩ*

**pati* would have become **parĩ-*)

Hence S. Paiute *atsi* represents an old Shoshonean *atsi* with primary *ts*; e. g. contrast primary *patsi-* OLDER SISTER (cf. Cora *hatsi* OLDER BROTHER; Cora *h* often < *p*) with *patcĩ-* < **pati* DAUGHTER.

There are a small number of cases of true *-ri-* (not *-ri-* < *-rĩ-*; § 3, 2, b), but these may well represent a group of loan-words taken in subsequently to the operation of the above law, e. g. *mori-* BEAN; *sari-* DOG; *qĩri'n'nanqa-* SPARROW-HAWK.

Belonging to a distinct and probably more recent stratum than the primary *ts*, *tc* and the *ts*, *tc* developed from *t* before original *i* are examples of *tc* that arise whenever a non-geminated *t*, that would ordinarily be spirantized to *r* (see § 16, 1), stands after an *i*. In this stratum, which constitutes a living process, *t-* and *-r-*, *-tc-* constantly interchange. Examples are:

-rĩ- participle (§ 25, 6, a)

ivi-tcĩ- drinking

-ru- to make (§ 26, 1, d)

na-ɣa-'tcu-tcu- to turn oneself into
a rat

-ru'a- interrogative (§ 19, 2, f)	pavi'-tcu'a-ni my brother?
-ruɣwa- to (§ 50, 4, 30)	sari.'tcu-tcuɣ-wa to the dog
taɣwa-, -raɣwa- we	qa'q'aɣai-tcaɣwa we, while sing-
(inclusive; § 39; § 40)	ing
tami-, -rami- we 2 (inclusive; § 39; § 40)	qa'χai-tcaml we 2, while singing
tua-, -rua- child	pixi'-tcu(w)a-ts little pig

When *i* is preceded by a nasal consonant, the *-t-*, *-r-* develops to *-ntc-* (see § 16, 3), e. g. *qani-ntcu'a* HOUSE?

Geminated *-t-*, it should be carefully noted, does not assimilate to *-t-c-* after *i*, but remains, e. g. *tūmp^wi'-t-u-* TO MAKE A STONE; *na'a'i-t-u'p^wik-uqwa'* HAS BURNT UP.

Nasalized *-nt-* also is regularly unaffected by a preceding *i*; e. g. *ɔv^wi'nto'tsɣa'* WOODEN-HEADED, *ɔv^wi'ntuɣ^wa-n-i'* WILL MAKE WOOD, *ɔv^wi'ntu'axuntca-ŋa* HE BECAME A STICK. There is, however, a tendency for such cases of *-nt-* to become assimilated to *-ntc-*; e. g. *o(w)i'pintcu-* to make a canyon (< *oi'p-iⁿ*, see § 16, 3). In such cases the theoretical *-nt-* is sometimes even replaced by the "spirantal" form *-tc-*; e. g. *ɔv^wi'tcuq-wa* UNDER THE STICK (but also *ɔv^wi'ntuq-wa*).

After *ai-* TO SAY, *-t-*, *-r-* develops to *-ntc-*, not *-tc-*, e. g. *ai-ntcī-* SAYING. On the other hand, usitative *-mi-* (§ 30, 10) changes a following *-t-*, *-r-* to *-nt-*, not *-ntc-*, e. g. *ai-mi-ntī-* BEING WONT TO SAY; cf. *-ɣa-ntī-* HAVING < *-ɣai-* TO HAVE (§ 25, 6, a), *-q-a-ntī-* HAVING -ED < perfective *-q'ai-* (§ 25, 6, d). There are historical antecedents involved here which can be unraveled only by comparative evidence.

(4) PALATALIZATION. An *i* palatalizes a following *k-* sound, less frequently a dental or back-palatal nasal (*n*, *ŋ*). Acoustically this is manifested as a *y-* like affection of the consonant. It is indicated, in the case of back-palatals, by the symbol for anterior articulation (e. g. *k̟*, sounding approximately like *ky*); by a superior *y* in the case of *n*.

The *n^y* (approximately like Russian "soft" or mouillé *n*) appears most often between two *i-* vowels, particularly when the second is unvoiced, e. g. *maa'in^yi-* TO TOUCH, *maa'in^yiʔkanti* HAVING TOUCHED.

The palatalized *ŋ* (approximately like French *gn*, possibly more posterior in articulation) is not very common, as the combination *-iŋ-* occurs only infrequently, e. g. *iŋa-* HE HERE.

The palatalized *k-* sounds are *k̟* < *k*, *q̟*; *k̟^ɛ* (written *k^ɛ*) < *k'*, *q'*; *χ*, *ɣ* < *γ*, *χ*; *ɣ* < *x*; *γw*, *χw* < *γw*, *χw*. *ɣ* is practically identical with *ch* of German *ich*. *χ* is very close to *y*, but more spirantal in quality (less open or vocalic), possibly a shade less anterior in articu-

lation; it was practically never misheard as *y*. *χ* is midway, in point of voicing, between *γ* (of which it is merely a variant) and *g*.

Examples of palatalized *k*-sounds are:

- <i>γai</i> -, - <i>χai</i> - subordinating suffix	<i>avi'χa'</i> lying; <i>a'iyaiç</i> · <i>u</i> as soon as (he) said
- <i>qai</i> - to have	<i>muw'i'k·a'</i> to have a nose
<i>qarī</i> - to sit	<i>pīni'k·arī</i> - to sit and look
- <i>qai</i> - resultative suffix	<i>uḡwa'lkaiḡia'</i> was hanging
- <i>γu</i> -, - <i>χu</i> - subordinating suffix	<i>iwi'χu(w)αḡA</i> when he drank
- <i>γw(a)'ai</i> - to go	<i>īm'i'γw'aip·i'γa'</i> several arrived

Rather infrequently is an initial *q*-palatalized to *k*- by the final -*i*, -*l* of the preceding word; e. g. *w^wa'ḡwī kani'ntcuḡwainafī* THEREIN HIS-OWN-MADE-HOUSE.

(5) TREATMENT OF *γ*. The back-guttural *γ* is apt to undergo various modifications, aside from unvoicing (§ 8), palatalization (4 above), and labialization (§ 14, 3, c).

(a) *Stopping to q*. In poetry *γ* is not infrequently stopped to *q* (the sonant correspondent of *q*). In prose this occurs when a final -*ḡ* of the preceding word comes, by elision of an initial vowel (see § 10, 3, end), to stand immediately before the -*γ*-, e. g. *a'ia·ḡ i'γīR*

THAT-HE INDEED > *a'ia·ḡ ḡīR*.

(b) *Weakening or loss of γ*. An original *γ* is sometimes weakened to a glide *ʔ* or even entirely lost before or after an *u*-vowel, more often after an *i*-vowel. Vocalic contractions may then result (see § 4). Examples are:

<i>na-γu'q·wi-ḡqī</i> - to fight (lit., to shoot at each other < <i>quq·wi</i> - to shoot)	<i>na'u'q·wiḡqī</i> -, <i>na'uq·wiḡqī</i> -
<i>yauγwi</i> - to enter	<i>ya·u'wi</i> -
<i>fi'γia</i> - deer (- <i>γ</i> - may be glide, however; see § 14, 1)	<i>fi'iaRīquαfi</i> deer-meat
<i>fi'γī'vī</i> - friend	<i>fi'vīni</i> my friend
- <i>fi'γa-n·ia</i> - adverbial element	<i>mava'i'izt'an·i'</i> way off; <i>u'u'-rainḡian·i'</i> close towards it
<i>turyu</i> - up (e. g. <i>turyu'ntux·WA</i> upward)	* <i>fi'γī</i> -, * <i>fi'γi</i> - > <i>fi</i> ·-, <i>fii</i> - up

(c) *Unvoicing to x in voiced position.* Even before a voiced vowel γ is sometimes heard not merely as an intermediate χ , with which it varies frequently, but as a fully unvoiced x (or lengthened x); similarly $\gamma > \gamma$. This sharpening seems to be frequent after an accented a , particularly in the neighborhood of a glottal stop, e. g.:

- <i>aγava-yu-</i> right among	<i>a'a'xavaiyU</i> right in there
- <i>γi-</i> to come in order to	<i>yu'(w)a'xiyamī</i> come to take them away
- <i>γw(a)'ai-</i> to go in order to	<i>ya'a'xwa'a</i> go to fetch; <i>yu'(w)-a'x-w'aivä'</i> shall go to bring (them); <i>wara'x-ani'γ'xwa'a</i> go to (another) house for grass-seeds (<i>wara-</i>)
- <i>γum-a-</i> male	<i>na(·)γa'x'ym-ah'waq-U</i> together with mountain-sheep buck (obj.)
<i>iya'vaya-</i> to fear	<i>iya'vaxan'namī</i> whom you feared

(6) VOCALIZATION OF SEMIVOWELS. The semivowels y and w are sometimes opened up to the corresponding vowels i and u (ɔ). Forms with glide *-i-* (§ 5, 1) are transitional; e. g. *-aya-* > *-a(i)ya-* > *-aia-*. Examples of *-y-* > *-i-* are:

<i>nampa'-ya-ηA</i> his foot (obj.)	<i>nampa'ia-ηA</i>
<i>naηa-</i> anger + <i>y(a)'ai-</i> to die of	<i>naηa'i'ai-</i>
> <i>naηa'y'ai-</i> to be angry	

After an i , the $i < y$ apparently disappears as such, fusing with the preceding vowel, e. g.:

<i>tuq-wi-</i> shame + <i>y(a)'ai-</i>	<i>tu'qwi''ai-</i> to be ashamed
<i>tsi-</i> with the point + <i>yauγwi-</i>	
<i>tea-</i> to cause several objects to enter	<i>tsia-'uγwɛcApīγa'</i> caused (them) to go in by pushing with the point (§ § 4, 1, a; 13, 5, b)

A w immediately following a back-palatal stop or η is sometimes opened to u or still further, before a , to $ɔ$ (cf. development of *-wa-* to *-wɔ-*, *-ɔ-*; § 3, a, 3), e. g.:

- <i>ntcuq-w(-ruq-w) avi''</i> under lies	<i>imi'ntcuq-u avi''</i> lies under thee;
	<i>aruq'ɔ avi''</i> lies under it
' <i>ani''aγw'aik'zA</i> what-he said? >	' <i>ani''aγ'ɔ aik'zA</i>
- <i>η'wai-</i> (§ 7, 4, end)	

(7) **SIMPLIFICATION OF CONSONANTS.** Here are grouped together a number of consonantal simplifications or partial losses of characteristic quality, found chiefly in sentence phonetics.

(a) *Simplification of affricatives.* A final *-ts* (< *-tsi-*) or, less often, *-tcī* is sometimes reduced to *-t*, *-t'* before a word beginning with a dental (*t*, *n*), less frequently before a word beginning with a labial, e. g.:

<i>yni'nuts</i> then	<i>yni'nut nantsi'k-upřya'</i> then flew off; <i>yni'nut' maŋa'iac-u</i> then him
<i>řiv^wi'ts</i> very	<i>řiv^wi't tuřwa'r'uřupřya'</i> it got very dark; <i>řiv^wit nřiv^wa'uřwapřya'</i> (it) snowed very much
<i>-pantcī</i> kinds of	<i>man:ɔ'q^ɔpant pa'a'vřw am'</i> all the kinds of animals
<i>i'tcī</i> this	<i>i'třqa'q^ɔA</i> eat this! (< <i>i'tcī řřqa'q^ɔA</i>)

An internal *-tsi-* is sometimes reduced to *-t-ř-*, *-tř-* before *n* (see § 3, 2, c):

<i>wřtsi't:snı</i> my great-grandchild	<i>wřtsi't-ř(n)</i>
<i>na'a'ints:tsınA</i> like a girl	<i>na'a'ints:třnA</i>

(b) *Assimilation of -R to n-*. This happens only rarely, e. g.:

<i>yu'un ar(i)</i> my leg	<i>yu'un an nantsi'n'anřixı</i> come and joint my leg
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(c) *Loss of labialization.* Before an *u* or *ɔ* of the following word a final *-qw-*, *-řw-*, *-řw-* is apt to lose its *w* (cf. simplification of *wɔ* < *wa* after back-palatal stops to *ɔ*; § 3, 1, c). Examples are:

<i>-rařw(a-)</i> we	<i>řiv^wi'rař yni'nuts</i> let us then
<i>-řq^w(a-)</i> it	<i>ařa'q^w uřw^wai'</i> who is it then?
<i>pina'řqw(a-)</i> soon	<i>pina'řq^w 'o'u</i> soon so

Final *-xw* sometimes melts with following *qw-* to *-q^w-* (cf. § 8, 1, g), e. g.:

<i>i(y)ε'tuxWA qvau'</i> hither off	<i>i(y)ε'tuq^wwau'</i>
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(8) **ASSIMILATION OF SIBILANTS.** When two successive syllables contain sibilants of different articulation (*s*, *ts*: *c*, *tc*; see § 12, 2, h),

assimilation generally results either to the *s-* or *c-* position. The following types of sibilant assimilation have been observed.

(a) *Assimilation of s—c to s—s.* This seems to be rare. An example is *Asi'-s-aywa-* LIGHT BLUE (contrast *-ic-a-* of *qwic-a-* TO SPARK).

(b) *Assimilation of s—tc to c—tc.* This also is not common. A good example is *citcu-* NAIL < *sitcu-* < **situ-* (cf. Kawaiisu *-cito-*).

(c) *Assimilation of ts—c to tc—c or ts—s.* Generally *ts—s* appears, e. g.:

-tsi-c-u-, *-ts-cu-* (§ 35; § 19, 2, k) *-tsu-u-*, *-ts-su-*: *pi'ka'xu-*
navitsus-uayA only his little
 rawhide bag; *tu(w)a'ts-suni*
 only my son

-tsi(-ts)-campa- (§ 19, 2, j) *fiw'ts-sampa* truly

Yet *tc—c* also seems to occur, e. g. *sari-'tcic-uni* ONLY MY DOG < *sari-'tsu-c-u-*.

(d) *Assimilation of tc—s to tc—c.* This uncommon type is illustrated, e. g., in *tca-'cixani* MENSTRUAL HUT (for more normal *-as-u-* contrast *as-u-* SURFACE).

(e) *Assimilation of ts—tc to tc—tc (ts—ts).* The normal *tc—tc* assimilation, which occurs very frequently, is illustrated in:

-tsi- noun suffix + *-tcu'a-* interrogative *a'ip-atcudcu'a* a boy?
-tsi- + *-tcu-* to make *naya-'tcdcuqwayumpa'* will turn
 (them)selves into rats
-tsi- + *-tca-* preterital enclitic *mam-a'utctca-ya* woman did—
 him
-tsi- diminutive + *-tci-* participle *avi'tctciA* little lying (obj.), little
 ridge

The less frequent assimilation to *ts—ts* is probably regular when the primary *ts* is initial, e. g. *ts-tsa'ηki'a-* TO CARRY ON A POLE (*tsi-* WITH THE POINT, § 21, 9). Moreover, subordinating *-tsi-* (§ 55, 1, a), unlike diminutive *-tsi-* or nominal *-tsi-* (cf. above examples), seems regularly to maintain itself and to assimilate following *tc* to *ts*, e. g.:

yni'-tsi- having so done, then + *yni'tsutsanywa* then we
-tcaywa- we

-vü'-tsi- future gerund (§ 55, 1, a) a-ya'nvü'tsutsaŋwa' thou, intending to act how, didst—him?
+ -tca- preterital enclitic

(f) *Assimilation of c—ts to s—ts.* Evidence for this seems to be rather scanty. An example is mĩnũ's'its SEVERAL HAVING RETURNED < mĩnũ'c'ı-.

(g) *Unassimilated forms.* The frequent sequence *tc—ts* seems normally to remain unaffected, e. g. qa'iva'vũtsũŋwĩ KAIBAB PAIUTES (lit., MOUNTAIN-LYING PEOPLE, PLATEAU PEOPLE). When the *ts* is final, however, assimilated *tc—tc* seems to be not uncommon, e. g. ũqu'v'ũtcac' BUG (sp.).

Sporadic unassimilated forms for the assimilated types enumerated above also occur.

§ 14. *Glide consonants.*

Consonantal glides are frequent after the high vowels (*i*, *ĩ*, *u*). The semivowels *y* and *w* act as glides after *i* and *u* respectively, *γ* after *ĩ*. A weakly articulated *γ*, such as the *γ*- glide always is, is really a high-back unrounded semivowel, corresponding to *ĩ* precisely as *w* does to *u*.

(1) GLIDE *γ*. This glide, often represented as *ɣ* when only weakly articulated, is rather common between a primary *ĩ* and a following vowel. Even *ĩ*, when resolved to *ũ* (see § 4, 2, b), may develop to *ĩγĩ*, *ĩγũ*. Examples are:

ĩa- to plant	ĩɣa'p-ı planted, corn
pĩa- relative	pĩɣa'ni my relative
nĩa'-rĩ- wind	nɣa'rĩ
-yĩ- present tense + -amĩ- them	na'(i)yĩɣamĩni I call them
yĩĩ- doorway	yĩɣ'va' at the doorway
fĩĩ'a- deer (e. g. pa-rĩ'ia- water-deer, elk)	fĩɣi'a- deer (generally so heard)

Curious is nĩ'u(γw)a'mi IN FRONT OF ME, in which -γ- is a glide consonant after *ĩ*, -w- after *u* (see 3 below).

(2) GLIDE *ɣ*. This occurs very frequently between *i* (ı) and a following vowel, e. g.:

qvac-ı- tail + -aŋa his	qwa'cu'yaŋa his tail
pu'ı- eye + -'ai- not to have	pu'ı'y'ai-ĩ having no eyes

tümp^wi(a-) rock (obj.) + uru'- tümp^wi'y uruq·wA under the rock
q·wA under it

Sporadically a weakly articulated *y* (indicated ^v) occurs initially before *i*; e. g. ^vi'mi THOU < i'mi.

(3) GLIDE *w*. Labial glides are very frequent and are found in three distinct groups of cases.

(a) *Glide w between vowels*. After a primary *u* (o) a *w*, indicated as ^w if weak, often slips in before an immediately following vowel. If the second vowel is voiceless, the *w*-glide is unvoiced to *w*. Examples are:

tua- son	tuwa'tsini my son
-γu- subordinating suffix + -aŋa-	iwi'χwawŋA when he drank
he	
pu'i eye	pu' ^w i-
-u(w)i't-uywa- before	nico'(w)itux·wA before me

The use of *-w*- as glide seems incidentally to serve as criterion of the difference between a true *ui* diphthong and a dissyllabic *u* + *i*. Thus, with *-u(w)i't-uywa* above contrast causative *-t-ui-* with diphthongal *ui* (rarely, if ever, *uwi*).

(b) *Rounded labials*. Bilabial consonants (*p*, *p'*, *v*, *φ*, *m*) are normally pronounced with unrounded lips. Under certain conditions, however, they are pronounced with *w*-position of the lips. This position may bring about a slight ^w-glide between the labial and the following vowel. Several groups of cases are to be noted.

Initially *m^w-*, sometimes heard exaggerated into *^wm^w-* or even *um^w-*, is found in demonstrative two-moraed *m^wa'*, *m^wa'*, THAT (see § 43); possibly this *m^wa'* is developed from an older *uma'* > *um^wa'* (see below). An initial *m^w-* also sometimes develops before an immediately following *i*; e. g. *m^wim^wi-* YE.

A medial *-m^w-* develops regularly after primary *i*, *i*. When the vowel following the *-m^w-* is unvoiced, the ^w-glide is also unvoiced (^w). Examples are *nim^wi-* WE (exclu.); *cim^wia-* TO LET GO; *iim^wa-* TO ROAST; *ani'ntcīm^w i'mü* (ARE) DOING THESE (ANIM.); *co'v^wantim^wi* OTHERS; *m^wi'm^wi* YE.

A medial *-m^w-* also often develops after *u*(o), e. g.:

*u-*demonstrative + *-ma-nñi-* being *um^wα'nñi* therefrom
at, from

u + animate plural *-mĩ-* *um^wu-* they
-ŋu- momentaneous suffix + *-mĩA* *wa'a'ŋum^wmĩA* is wont to shout
 usitative

Medial *-p^w-*, *-mp-* are frequently rounded to *-p^{w̥}-*, *-mp^{w̥}-* (unvoiced *-p^{w̥}-*, *-mp^{w̥}-*) after *u* or *ĩ*. This seems to take place particularly before *i*, whose timbre contrasts most clearly with that of *p^w*. Examples are *tũmp^wi-* ROCK (*tũ'mp^wi*); *tũ'p^wi'-* TO BE LEFT OVER; *tũ'p^wa'qⁱ-* TO EMERGE; *um^wp^{w̥}i'cAcampA* JUST FOR FUN.

After *ĩ* or *u*, *v* is inner-rounded. The result, written *v^w*, is not *v* + *w*- glide but a bilabial *v* with inner rounding, a sound acoustically midway between *v* and *w*. It is phonetically related to *w* very much as *ɣ* is to *y*. Before voiceless vowels *v^w* is unvoiced to *φ^w*. Examples are *tiv^wa'ts* WOLF, *niv^wa'tcuxWA* TO ME, *tiv^wi'ts* VERY, *iv^wi'* GO AHEAD!, *niv^wφ^wA* AT ME; *uv^wa''a-x-i* OVER IT, *qaniv^wntcux^wa-n-i'* WILL MAKE A HOUSE, *oφ^wA* THEN.

(c) *Labialization of k-sounds.* Labialized *k*-sounds (*qw*, *q^w*, *ɣw*, *xw*) are either primary or arise secondarily by the intrusion of a *w*-glide due to a preceding *u* (o) or *ɔ*. Examples of labialized *k*-sounds due to *u* (o) are:

<i>-ŋu-</i> momentaneous suffix +	<i>ts·pi'ŋUqwa'</i> has appeared
<i>-q'ai-</i> perfective	
<i>tiv^wi-ŋu-</i> to ask + <i>-ŋqai-</i> subordinating suffix	<i>tiv^wi'ŋumqwa'aiŋWA</i> as (he) asked him (for breaking of <i>-ŋqwai-</i> to <i>-ŋqwa'ai-</i> see § 15, 2, a)
<i>tiv^wi-ŋu-</i> + <i>-q'a-</i> plural subject	<i>tiv^wi'ŋUqwai'</i> several ask; absolute <i>tiv^wi'ŋuqWA</i>
<i>uŋwa'c-u-</i> he + <i>-ɣain·u-</i> too	<i>uŋwa'c·uɣwain·uA</i> he too
<i>o-</i> arrow + <i>-ɣai-</i> to have	<i>o'ɣwairätcĩ</i> wont to have an arrow
<i>qo-</i> + <i>-ɣa-</i> to make a sound	<i>qo'xwApĩɣain·i'</i> there was a whirring sound as of wings

Examples of *k*-sounds labialized by preceding *ɔ* are:

<i>aɣɔ-</i> tongue + <i>-ŋqai-</i> to have	<i>aɣɔ'ŋqwa'</i> to have a tongue
<i>nɔ-</i> to carry on one's back + <i>-ɣi-</i> to come in order to	<i>nɔ'ɣwini</i> come to carry me on (your) back!
<i>nɔ-</i> + <i>-qⁱ-</i> to come —ing	<i>nɔ'q·wɪ</i> to come carrying on one's back

An initial ' is rarely labialized to 'w, xw by the final i, ī of a preceding word; e. g. *tə'ə'ivī xwai'* BULRUSHES (obj.) THEM < *tə'ə'ivī 'ai'*.

§ 15. *The Glottal Stop.*

(1) TYPES OF GLOTTAL STOP. Glottal stops occur very frequently in Southern Paiute. They are rarely exaggerated in articulation, however, and are often quite easily missed. The glottal stop may function as an integral element of a stem (e. g. 'ayu- TO BE GOOD, sa'a- TO BOIL) or grammatical element (e. g. -γw'ai- TO GO IN ORDER TO, -n'ni- continuative); as in itself a grammatical process occurring alone (e. g. dubitative -', § 19, 2, n; -' to indicate momentaneous activity, § 53, 2, a, 3), with such grammatical processes as gemination and reduplication (§ 53, 2, b; § 58, 3 and 4) or in connection with certain enclitics, chiefly pronominal (e. g. -' . . . -mi- THY, THEE); in certain circumstances to separate vowels brought together by composition (§ 16, 2); in final position after perfective -(n)tca- and -γwa- and after independent personal pronouns preceding verbs of doing and being (§ 5, 3). The last group of cases may be considered as inorganic or non-functional. The first group of cases may be defined as involving an "inherent" glottal stop, the second and third an "accessory" glottal stop. The distinction is important phonetically, inasmuch as a syllable containing an "inherent" glottal stop counts for two moras whether its vowel is short or long, while a short-voweled syllable with "accessory" glottal stop counts for only one mora (see § 8, 1, a, end; 2, a, end; § 9, end). Outwardly these two types of glottal stop are identical, but they probably belong to quite distinct historical strata, the "accessory" group no doubt representing a later development or influencing of the word form. Rarely there is evidence to show that an "inherent" glottal stop may arise by way of compensation for the loss of a vowel. This seems to be true, at least, of *na'ŋ'wA'-tsiŋwī* FATHER AND SON (< reciprocal *na- + -ŋwo'tsi-*, spirantized form (see § 16, 1, end) of *-mo'a-t-si-* FATHER), *nana'ŋ'wa't-siŋwī* FATHERS AND SONS (< plural reciprocal *nana'- + -ŋwoa't-si-* < *moa't-si-*).

(2) MOVABILITY OF GLOTTAL STOP. A puzzling and often disconcerting peculiarity of the glottal stop, apart from initial and final position, is its movability. The phonetic consciousness attaches it to a certain syllable, but within that syllable it may shift about with considerable freedom. In part this movability is conditioned

by accentual factors (§ 10, 2), but much of it is purely optional. The glottal stop may even spill over into the end of or body of the preceding syllable or into the beginning of the following syllable. Thus, the syllable *-y'ai-* TO DIE of such a word as *tarv-'y'ai-k-a* SEVERAL ARE THIRSTY may appear with its ' immediately preceding its own syllable (*-y'ai-*); immediately following its initial consonant (*-y'ai-*; it may appear immersed in stops, affricatives, or nasals — see b below); breaking the first vowel of the diphthong (*-ya'ai-*; from this type of glottal affection may develop a glottalized vowel, see a below, e. g. *-yāi-*); making a hiatus between the two vowels of the diphthong (*-ya'i-* or *-ya'i-* with murmured *i*); closing its syllable (*-yai-*); or glottally affecting the initial consonant of the following syllable (*-yaiḱ-a*). Hence it might be more appropriate to speak of the glottal affection of a syllable than of a glottal stop. The type *y'ai'* or *ya''ai-* may be considered the norm.

(a) *Broken vowels and diphthongs.* Broken vowels are extremely frequent. They are due to either an inherent glottal stop (e. g. *si'i-* TO URINATE) or to the secondary operation of an accessory one (e. g. *qani''imi* THY HOUSE < *qani-* HOUSE). Either the first or second part of the broken vowel may be stressed or relatively stressed; the unstressed part, particularly if second, tends to be murmured (*a''a* > *a''a*, *a'a'* > *a'a'*). The type *a'a'* is particularly frequent in initial position, the type *a'a* in final position. A broken diphthong is one whose first vowel is broken (e. g. *a'a'ura'*, *a'a'ura'* TOWARDS IT < *a-* IT + *-u'ra'* TOWARDS).

Examples of vowels and diphthongs broken by an accessory glottal stop are:

<i>paa'</i> aunt + ' . . . <i>mi-</i> thy	<i>paa''ami</i> thy aunt
<i>-p'iyai-</i> remote past	<i>qari'p'iyai'aimi</i> they two sat
<i>-na-</i> verbal noun suffix + ' . . .	<i>ampa'γana'aḡwa</i> his talking
<i>ḡwa-</i> his	
<i>-q'ai-</i> resultative suffix + ' . . .	<i>pini'ḱ-a'aik-wa</i> see it
<i>q-wa-</i> it	

(b) *Glottalization of consonants and vowels.* A glottalized consonant may be defined as a welding of the consonant or, more rarely, vowel with a glottal stop into a composite sound of unified acoustic effect. Only the stopped consonants, *m*, *n*, and *ḡw* form such glottalized units; in the case of the other consonants, the ' immediately follows or precedes (e. g. *-y'i-* or *-y'i-* < *-y'i-* present tense + accessory ').

A glottalized *m* or *n* is simply a long nasal interrupted for a moment by glottal closure: *m'm*, *n'n*; in glottalized *ŋw* the ' slips in between the *ŋ* and *w*: *ŋ'w*. The glottalized stops and affricatives (*p'*, *t'*, *q'*, *q'w*, *tc'*, *ts'*) are pronounced with simultaneous oral and glottal closure. The release of the two closures is simultaneous also. This makes them far more difficult to perceive than the snappy glottalized consonants ("fortes") of so many other American languages, in which the glottal release is subsequent to that of the oral closure. Glottalized consonants result from either an inherent or accessory glottal stop; the glottal stop of the glottalized consonant generally belongs to its own syllable, sometimes to a following syllable, less often preceding one. Examples are:

<i>tca'aik'ai-</i> to hold + <i>-y'i-</i> present tense + ' . . . <i>q-wa-</i> it	<i>tca'a'ik'ai'yiq-wa</i> holds it
<i>-q'ai-</i> perfective + <i>-n'a-</i> verbal noun + ' . . . <i>ŋwa-</i> his	<i>finu'anqūq'ain'naŋwa</i> his having told to (him)
<i>uv'it-u-</i> to sing a song + <i>-m'mua-</i> , <i>-m'i'a-</i> along	<i>uv'i't-u'muai'</i> sings along
<i>-v'antuŋwa-</i> on	<i>'am-u'v'antux-wa</i> on them

The movability of the glottal stop is well illustrated in the forms *nū-cī'taŋwa'i-xa'* TEASING A PERSON, *cīlca'ŋ'waiyiaŋa* TEASES HIM, *cīlca'ŋwaip'ŋya'aimi* FOOLED THEM.

By a glottalized vowel, e. g. *d'*, is meant one that is articulated while continuously interrupted by a rapid series of weak glottal stops or, probably more correctly, cordal tightenings that approximate glottal closure. Sometimes the glottalized vowel sounds like a fairly definitely articulated "glottal *r*," at other times it seems to correspond to what German writers on phonetics term "Pressstimme." The glottalized vowel may occur as an abbreviated substitute for the broken vowel or as an anticipatory glottal affection immediately preceding a more sharply articulated glottal stop, e. g. *pūni'k'ai-p'id'a* DID NOT SEE.

(c) *Over-glottalization*. What is morphologically a single glottal stop often manifests itself twice or even three times in the course of a word. Several examples have already illustrated this. Further examples are:

<i>cu(w)a-</i> nearly + <i>-y'ai-</i> to die	<i>cu(w)a'(i)'y'ai-p'ŋya'</i> nearly died
<i>uv'a-</i> there + <i>-yu-</i> post-position	<i>uv'd''(i)y'umi</i> there they
+ ' . . . <i>mū-</i> they	

qanintcu- to build a house + *nam-i'χa'nintcuxwa'a* first go to
-χwa'ai- to go in order to build a house

The over-glottalization, though rarely, may even manifest itself in the immediately preceding word; e. g. *qa'nu u'a'xarux-wa* RIGHT THROUGH THE HOUSE (properly *qana-*, obj.); similarly *qa'nu' aura'* HOUSE TOWARDS IT < *qanu' a'u'ra'*, the glottal stop separating *a* and *u* being here so faint that it escaped perception, while the intrusive ' of *qa'nu* was distinctly audible.

In such an example as *-r'əŋ'a'amɪ* HE—THEE? the ' after *ŋ* is intrusive, caught, as it were, between the ' of interrogative *-r'ə-* and the ' of *-əŋ'a-*, broken, by -' . . . *mi-* THEE, from *-əŋa-* HE.

(d) *Contraction*. On the other hand, two organically distinct glottal stops may, though far less frequently, merge into a single one; e. g.:

-p'a'na- on + -' . . . *mī-* they *tūmp'i'p'a'namī* on a stone they
-ru'a- interrogative + -' thou *-ru'a* thou? (see § 40, 2).

§ 16. *Treatment of Consonants in Composition.*

A word must begin with either a vowel (which may be preceded by ') or one of the following nine consonants: *p*, *t*, *q* (*k*), *qw* (*kw*), *tc* (*ts*), *c* (*s*), *m*, *n*, ' . When these consonants, by the processes of derivation and composition, take up a medial position and are immediately preceded by a vowel, voiced or unvoiced, they assume, in part, one of three distinct forms. These are summarized in tabular form:

<i>Initial</i>	<i>Spirantized</i>	<i>Geminated</i>	<i>Nasalized</i>
<i>p-</i>	<i>-v-</i>	<i>-p'-</i>	<i>-mp-</i>
<i>t-</i>	<i>-r-(-tc-, -ntc-)</i>	<i>-t'-</i>	<i>-nt-</i> (rarely <i>-ntc-</i>)
<i>q-</i> (<i>k-</i>)	<i>-ɣ-</i>	<i>-q'-</i> (<i>-k'-</i>)	<i>-ŋq-</i> (<i>-ŋk-</i>)
<i>qw-</i> (<i>kw-</i>)	<i>-ɣw-</i>	<i>-q'w-</i> (<i>-k'w-</i>)	<i>-ŋqw-</i> (<i>-ŋkw-</i>)
<i>tc-</i> (<i>ts-</i>)	<i>-tc-, -ntc- (-ts-, -nts-)</i>	<i>-t'c-</i> (<i>-t's-</i>)	<i>-ntc-</i> (<i>-nts-</i>)
<i>c-</i> (<i>s-</i>)		<i>-c'-</i> (<i>-s'-</i>)	
<i>m-</i>	<i>-ŋw-</i>	<i>-m'-</i>	(<i>-m'-</i>)
<i>n-</i>		<i>-n'-</i>	(<i>-n'-</i>)

The glottal stop undergoes no change; *c* (*s*) has neither spirantal nor nasalized development; *n*, at least as far as can be inferred from

Paiute itself, has no spirantal development; for *m* and *n* there is no distinction between nasalization and gemination.

Two factors are operative in the determination of the form that a consonant takes in medial position. In the first place, certain elements (suffixes and enclitics) always appear with consistently spirantized, geminated, or nasalized consonant, regardless of the stem or morphological element that precedes; e. g. *-γa-* durative suffix, *-q-u-* numeral objective suffix, *-ŋq̃-* indirective suffix TO, FOR. On the other hand, all stems and many suffixes appear in either two or, more often, three forms according to the nature of the preceding stem or suffix. The initial consonants of suffixes that appear in two distinct forms are either spirantized or, less frequently, nasalized; e. g. future *-va'n-ia-* (as in *ivi'va'n-ia-* WILL DRINK, *-q-ava'n-ia-* SEVERAL WILL —) and *-mpa'n-ia-* (as in *ivi'ŋumpa'n-ia-* WILL TAKE A DRINK, *ivi'm-ŋumpa'n-ia-* WILL BE WONT TO DRINK). As a rule, the nasalization in this class of elements is due to the presence of a nasal in the preceding syllable. Much more typical is threefold alternation, which affects all stems and many suffixes. Here the deciding factor is the nature of the preceding stem or suffix, which, as far as a descriptive analysis of Paiute is concerned, must be credited, as part of its inner form, with an inherent spirantizing, geminating, or nasalizing power (respectively indicated, where necessary, as *-s*, *-g*, and *-n*). Thus, the same adjectival verb suffix appears in spirantal form in *anqa'-γa-* TO BE RED, geminated in *qu'tca'-q-a-* TO BE GRAY, and nasalized in *paï'-ŋqa-* TO BE SMOOTH; the stems may be respectively indicated as *anqa-s*, *qu'tca-g*, *paï-n*. On the other hand, the element *-γa-*, *-q-a-*, *-ŋqa-* is consistently spirantizing (schematic form *-qa-s*), e. g. in participial *anqayā-rī-*, *qu'tca'q-a-rī-*, *paï'ŋqa-rī-*. The participial *-rī-* is itself capable of appearing in geminated (*-t-ī-*) and nasalized (*-nī-*) form as well under the appropriate circumstances (e. g. *-ai-t-ī-* NOT HAVING, *nu²qwi'-nī-* STREAMING). Thus, for purposes of derivation and composition one needs to know always whether a given stem or suffix is one that spirantizes, geminates, or nasalizes. As to the historical background of these processes, Paiute itself reveals comparatively little. A thorough study of comparative Shoshonean linguistics would probably make them historically intelligible.

(1) SPIRANTIZATION. It is plausible, from what comparative evidence is available, that spirantization arose typically when an element or stem whose initial consonant represents no process of contraction was affixed to an element or stem whose final vowel

represents its original ending. Original ungeminated stops and *-m* regularly became spirantized between vowels. There is some comparative evidence to show that *c* (*s*) and *n* originally alternated with *-ʼ* and zero respectively as their spirantal developments, but this is not deducible from Paiute itself and so does not concern us. "Spirantized" *-tc-*, *-ts-* can be most convincingly differentiated from geminated *-t-c-*, *-t-s-* by the failure of weak moras to lose their voice before it. The secondary *-tc-* *-ntc-* arising from a theoretical *-r-* (ungeminated *-t-*) have already been discussed (see § 13, 3). Examples of *-v-*, *-r-* (*-tc-*; after syllable with nasal, *-ntc-*), *-tc-* (after syllable with nasal, *-ntc-*), *-ts-* (after syllable with nasal, *-nts-*), *-ɣ-*, and *-ɣw-*, as results of spirantization are:

<i>na-s</i> reciprocal + <i>pavi-</i> elder brother	<i>nava'uywī</i> brothers
<i>ma-s</i> with the hand + <i>-patci'a-</i> to fasten	<i>mava'tci'ai'</i> fastens
Shoshonean <i>*(h)ipi-</i> to drink (cf. Mono <i>hibi-</i>)	<i>ivi-</i> to drink
<i>ai-s</i> new + <i>ta'i'</i> shirt	<i>ai'ra'i'</i> new shirt
<i>cu(w)a-s</i> nearly + <i>tup'wi'k-u-</i> to be used up	<i>cu(w)a'rup'wik-upi'ɣa'</i> was nearly used up
Shoshonean <i>*kafi-</i> to sit (cf. Hopi <i>gatö</i>)	<i>qari-</i> to sit
<i>iyöwi-s</i> mourning dove + <i>tua-</i> child	<i>iyöwiteuatc'</i> little mourning dove
<i>qan-i-s</i> house + <i>tua-</i>	<i>qan-i'nteuats'</i> little house
<i>a-s</i> quietly + <i>tca'aik'ai-</i> to hold	<i>a'tca'aik'a'</i> to hold quietly
<i>na-s</i> reciprocal + <i>tcaq'aitu-</i> younger brother	<i>nantea'q'aituɣwī</i> brothers
<i>-p'i-s</i> past + <i>-tsi-s</i> diminutive	<i>qa'p'ütsixa'</i> a little fellow sang
<i>tiŋqani-s</i> cave + <i>-tsi-</i> diminutive	<i>tiŋqa'nintsu'a</i> little cave (obj.)
<i>qani-s</i> house + <i>-kai-</i> to have	<i>qani'ɣai-</i> to have a house
<i>ci-s</i> squaw-bush + <i>qaitcɛx-u</i> hat	<i>ci'ɣaitcɛx-u</i> woman's basket cap
Shoshonean <i>*maka-</i> to give (cf. Mono <i>maki</i>)	<i>maɣa-</i> to give
<i>nam-i-s</i> first + <i>qwavihu-</i> to camp over night	<i>nam-i'ɣwavihu-</i> to camp over night first
<i>qaiva-s</i> mountain + <i>qwitcu</i> <i>v'aRi</i> peak	<i>qa'ivawitcuw'aRi</i> mountain peak

Shoshonean *tuka- night (cf. *tuɣwa'nU* night
Luiseño *duku-mil*)

While the spirantizations illustrated above are live processes, that of *m* to *-ɣw-*, though abundantly enough illustrated in the material, seems to have spent its force, as in the more evident compounds and derivatives *-m-* is used even after spirantizing stems and elements; e. g. *na-m-a'ɣwicava'amī* TWO SHALL PUSH EACH OTHER (cf. *na-s* above), *p̃ŋqa'muntun'ɾ'kaiɾ'ɣa'* KEPT LYING COVERED UP (< *p̃ŋqa-s* CONTINUOUSLY). Sometimes *-m-* and *-ɣw-* forms are distributed in other than a purely phonetic manner. Examples of *-ɣw-* < *-m-* are:

<i>moa-</i> father	<i>na'ɣ'wA'tsɣwī</i> father and son
<i>maɣa-</i> to give	<i>naɣwa'ɣa-</i> to pay (lit., to give each other)
<i>ma-s</i> with the hand + <i>-m̃n'ic-i-</i> to turn, roll over	<i>ma-ɣwī'n'ic-i-ɣqī-</i> to roll one over
<i>ta-m-i'una-ɣqī-</i> to dig out by poking with one's foot	<i>ma-ɣwī'una-ɣqī-</i> to dig out with one's hands
<i>m̃wimu-</i> you (plur.)	<i>-ɣwimu-</i> , <i>-ɣumu-</i> your, you (obj.) (as enclitic element, see § 40)
<i>-ma-</i> on	<i>-ɣwa-</i> on (with pronouns, see § 50, 4, 8)
<i>-mi-t-uɣwa-</i> to	<i>-ɣwi-t-uɣwa-</i> to (chiefly with pronominal stems, see § 50, 4, 14)
<i>-mī-</i> animate plural (see § 48, 1, a)	<i>-ɣwī-</i> animate plural (see § 48, 1, b)
Shoshonean * <i>tama-</i> tooth (cf. Fernandino <i>-tama</i>)	<i>taɣwa-</i> tooth
Shoshonean * <i>sama-</i> (cf. Gitane-muk <i>hama-t</i> grass, Cahuilla <i>samu-t</i>)	<i>saɣwa'-φi</i> sagebrush
Shoshonean * <i>tamī</i> we (cf. Hopi <i>i-tamō</i>)	<i>taɣWA, -raɣWA</i> we

(2) GEMINATION. As we have already seen, intervocalic *n* and *c* (*s*) are always geminated or long, regardless of etymological considerations; e. g. *MA'ci'q'iaiyīni* MY HANDS ARE COLD (cf. *ma-s* HAND above). Geminated *-m-* also has largely supplanted spirantized *-ɣw-* (see 1 above). How geminated intervocalic consonants arose is not clear. In part gemination is a grammatical process (e. g. *ivi-* TO DRINK < Shoshonean *ipi-*: *ʷi'p-i-* TO DRINK REPEATEDLY); see § 58, 4, a, c-f. In general, however, we can not yet tell what brought

about the geminating power of certain stems and elements and the presence of geminated consonants in the body of stems. The contrast between intervocalic geminated and ungeminated consonants is doubtless an original Shoshonean feature, as indicated by comparative evidence. Examples of *-p-*, *-t-*, *-t-c-*, *-t-s-*, *-q-* (*-k-*), and *-q-w-* (*-k-w-*), as results of gemination are:

<i>ta-^o</i> with the foot + <i>pantu-</i> to shake	<i>tA'pa'ntui'</i> shakes with the foot
<i>no-^o</i> to carry on one's back	<i>no'p'aγai-</i> to carry from place to place; <i>no'q'ava'</i> pack-horse
<i>i-^o</i> beforehand + <i>fiq-a-</i> to eat	<i>i'ti'qai'</i> eats beforehand
<i>fi-na-^o</i> to hunt + <i>fiγa-</i> to tell what to do	<i>fi-na'Atiγa-rī</i> hunting-leader
<i>qi-^o</i> with the teeth	<i>qi'tco'χw'a.i'</i> chews
<i>wat-ci'-</i> to catch up with	<i>wA'tci'γupīya'</i> caught up with (contrast <i>watci'-</i> to put)
<i>wut-ca'-</i> to tie; <i>wut-ca'-</i> bee	<i>wi'tca'i'</i> ties; <i>wi'tca'-φi</i> bee (contrast <i>witca'-φi</i> calf of leg)
<i>qu-^o</i> with fire	<i>qu'tsi'k'iva'</i> will burn
<i>qi-^o</i> with the teeth + <i>qoi'na-</i> to take off one object	<i>qi'qo'i'nai'</i> takes off with the teeth
<i>pa(i)yu-^o</i> to return + <i>-ki-</i> hither Shoshonean * <i>tuk-u-</i> panther (cf. Luiseño <i>dukwu-t</i>)	<i>pa(i)yu'k-i'</i> comes back
<i>tsut-si'-^o</i> (reduplicated) with a point iteratively	<i>ts'utsi'k'wiyui'</i> scrapes wavy lines
<i>ta-^o</i> with the foot	<i>tA²qwa'iq'ai-</i> to hold down with one's foot

There is some reason to believe, though the evidence is not conclusive, that geminating stems or elements followed by a stem beginning with a vowel insert a glottal stop; e. g. *i''A'pīi-* TO SLEEP BEFOREHAND (see *i-^o* above). However, it is evident that elements differ about the treatment of their final vowel before vowels, some contracting, others inserting a '. Thus, both *ma-^o* and *ta-^o* combine directly with a following vowel; e. g. *maa'in-i-* TO TOUCH and *taa'in-i-* TO TOUCH WITH THE FOOT, *tauγwai-* TO HANG BY THE FEET (cf. *uγwai-* TO HANG). On the other hand, *fi(.)'-ⁿ* WELL takes a ' after it; e. g. *fi''A'pīi-* TO SLEEP WELL.

(3) NASALIZATION. Nasalized consonants occur intervocally as a result of the nasalizing power of a stem or element; as the result of reduplicating stems with interior nasal (e. g. *qayqa'n'-* HOUSES < *qan'-* HOUSE; see § 58, 2, d); and internally in stems and elements from obscure causes (in part these internal nasalizations may be due to the assimilatory influence of a preceding nasal: e. g. *naqqava-* EAR from Shoshonean **naka-*, cf. Hopi *nak've*, though elision of *-a-* in parallel Shoshonean **nanaka-*, cf. Gabrielino *-nanax*, may be a preferable explanation; yet internal nasalization sometimes appears where comparative evidence gives no apparent reason for it, e. g. *turyu'mpa-* sky, cf. Möhineyam *duguba-l*, Gabrielino *tukup-a-r*, yet also Tübatulabal *dogumba-l*).

Nasalized consonants that result from the nasalizing power of a preceding element may be grouped into three classes: 1. *-ntc-* (*-nts-*) that results from a *-tc-* (*-ts-*), original or itself developed from *-t-* (see § 13, 3), that is either inherently "spirantal" or rather ungeminated (e. g. *-tca-* preterital) or "spirantized" by a preceding stem or element, provided there is a nasal consonant in the syllable preceding the *-tc-* (*-ts-*) (this type is not properly "nasalized" at all, but is merely a secondarily nasalized development of the spirantized group; see 1 above); 2. nasalized stops (and affricatives) that alternate with spirantized, but not geminated, consonants and that seem to occur primarily, but not altogether, when the preceding syllable contains a *-ŋ-* or *-ŋw-* (e. g. agentive *-vi-*, *-mpi*, alternating in *nc-vi*-CARRIER, *tay-a-mpi-* KICKER); 3. nasalized stops (and affricatives) that alternate with spirantized and geminated consonants. The primary cause for the nasalization in the last group is generally obscure. The presence of an interior nasal in the stem may be the cause in some cases (e. g. *taywa-n* TOOTH). Elision of a syllable containing a nasal is demonstrable in a small number of cases (e. g. *pa'a-n* TO BE HIGH, participle *pa'anti-*; cf. parallel *pa'an-i-*). In cases like usitative *-mia-*, *-mi-n*; *-kai-* TO HAVE, participle *-kanti-*; perfective *-qai-*, participle *-qanti-* one suspects Shoshonean **-mina-*, **-kani-*, **-qani-* with ungeminated *-n-*, which would disappear between vowels but assert itself as nasalization of the following consonant when the final vowel of the element is elided. Examples of nasalizing power are:

ayɔ-n tongue

ayɔ'mpi tongue; *ayɔntu-* to make
a tongue; *ayɔ'ŋqwai-* to have
a tongue

<i>nī</i> - ⁿ person (< <i>nī</i> ηwī- ⁿ , e. g. <i>nī</i> ηwuru- to make a man)	<i>nī</i> mpīηwa- another's wife; <i>nī</i> ntu- <i>anqā</i> - to give birth to one; <i>nī</i> ηqā'n- <i>ι</i> φ ₁ somebody else's house
<i>wi</i> - ⁿ stick, wood	<i>wi</i> 'mpaγā' wooden fish; <i>wi</i> ntu- to make wood; <i>wi</i> 'ηkani wooden house
<i>vi</i> - ⁿ agentive + <i>-kai</i> - to be <i>pa</i> γ(a) <i>i</i> - ⁿ to walk	<i>tona</i> 'vīηkai- to be a puncher <i>pa</i> γ(a') <i>i</i> mpa-n- <i>ia</i> - will go; <i>pa</i> - <i>γ</i> (a') <i>i</i> ηki- to come walking; <i>pa</i> γ(a') <i>i</i> ηqwa'- <i>ai</i> - to walk off; <i>pa</i> γ(a') <i>i</i> mpuru- to walk from place to place

(4) VACILLATION IN USE OF CONSONANTAL FORMS. There is a certain amount of sporadic variation between spirantized and nasalized consonants, in part depending on nasal assimilation, but not altogether. Examples are:

<i>witsi</i> ' <i>its</i> - bird	<i>ηwuntsi</i> ' <i>its</i> - in compounds (<i>-nts</i> - because of preceding <i>ηw</i> - < <i>-w</i> -; e. g. <i>wa</i> ' <i>ηwuntsi</i> ' <i>its</i> - yellow bird)
<i>watci</i> - to put	<i>a</i> ' <i>γawantci</i> - to hide, put in hiding (probably secondarily dissimilated from <i>a</i> ' <i>γawantci</i> -)
<i>MA</i> ' <i>ci</i> ' <i>teompi</i> finger-nail <i>pīri</i> ' <i>rī</i> - to hang on	<i>MA</i> ' <i>ci</i> ' <i>ntcompi</i> (alternative form) <i>pīnti</i> - <i>ηu</i> - to hang on, <i>pīmpī</i> '- <i>ntiki</i> - to hang on several times
<i>qanu</i> ' <i>ntcu</i> - <i>v</i> ^w <i>a</i> - <i>n</i> - <i>i</i> ' will build a house	<i>o</i> (<i>w</i>) <i>i</i> ' <i>p</i> - <i>intcu</i> - <i>mpa</i> - <i>n</i> - <i>i</i> ' will make a canyon (both with <i>-ntcu</i> - < <i>-tu</i> - to make; but note <i>qanu</i> - ⁿ : <i>oip</i> - <i>i</i> - ⁿ)
<i>-mpītsi</i> - noun ending (see § 24, 1, g)	<i>-mpīntsi</i> - (rare form of <i>-mpītsi</i> -, e. g. <i>ina</i> ' <i>mpīntsi</i> ηwī badgers)
<i>nara</i> ' <i>q</i> - <i>witcumpa</i> - to be assembled together	<i>nara</i> ' <i>q</i> - <i>wintcumpa</i> - (alternative form)

Less frequently an original nasalized consonant takes a spirantal form, e. g.:

<i>NU²qwi'nī</i> stream (< <i>NU²qwi'-ⁿ</i> to flow)	<i>aŋqa'p'a-NU²qwi'ciŋwī</i> red-stream-people (<i>-nī-tsi-</i> doubly assimilated to <i>-tciŋsi-</i> , for <i>-tisi-</i> , then <i>-tciŋsi-</i>)
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Not infrequently also nasalized and geminated consonants interchange, e. g.:

<i>tə'ə'p'i</i> hole	<i>moŋw'i'təmp'i</i> nose-hole, nostril
<i>tunqu't-vŋu-</i> to become clumsy, powerless	<i>tuntu'q-untvŋu-</i> to become clumsy, heavy all over one's body (reduplicated; < <i>tun-tunqu't-vŋu-</i> by interchange of nasalized and geminated positions)
<i>NU²qwi'mpaŋ(a)i-</i> to run and walk by turns (< <i>NU²qwi'-ⁿ</i> to stream, run)	<i>NU²qwi'p'aŋ(a)ik'a-</i> several run and walk by turns
<i>tūmpw'i'n-aro'ŋqwanŋiA</i> having stone-clothes (obj.)	<i>tūmpw'i'n-aro'ŋqwaŋiA</i> (alternative form)

In the last three examples an original nasalized consonant has become geminated, partly for assimilative, partly for dissimilative reasons. In the first example the geminated consonant probably represents the original form.

Finally, there is some vacillation also between spirantized and geminated consonants. A number of elements that are primarily spirantizing are geminating in certain isolated forms, e. g.:

<i>ma-^s</i> hand, <i>ma-^o</i> :	<i>MA'pa'iya-vuφi</i> palm; <i>MA'tca'i'-aŋqī-</i> to reach for; <i>MA'pi'k-i-</i> to touch with the hand
<i>mu-^s</i> nose (e. g. <i>mu-rəna-</i> to strike with one's nose), <i>mu-^o</i> :	<i>MU'pwi'k-iφi</i> mucus

Quite distinct from this group, which evidently constitutes an archaic stratum (thus, there is no verb *-pik-i-* without prefix), are examples of stems which are inherently spirantizing but are treated as geminating when compounded with stems that occur independently. It is particularly verb (including adjective) stems, followed by noun or verb stems, that are so treated. Thus, *aŋqa-^s* RED (cf. *aŋqa-ŋa-* TO BE RED, *aŋqa-r'ua-* TO TURN RED) acts like a geminating *aŋqa-^o* in such forms as *aŋqa'-p'aŋi'* RED FISH, TROUT, *aŋqa'-q'ani* RED HOUSE.

Similarly, *ivi*-^s TO DRINK (cf. *ivi*-*γu*- WHEN DRINKING) forms *ivi*'-*p-a*-*γ(a)*- TO DRINK WHILE WALKING. However, these tendencies are not consistently carried out. Thus, both *ayqa*'-*q-wica*-*ri* RED-FLASHING, LIGHTNING and *ayqa*'-*χwic*-*a*- TO FLASH RED are found. Such details are of merely lexicographic interest. The tendency to use geminated consonants in composition is probably due to the greater phonetic similarity thus brought about between a simplex and its compound. It is the first step towards the dulling of a consciousness of consonantal alternations and towards their development into mere historical survivals.

MORPHOLOGY (§ § 17-63).

§ 17. *Grammatical Processes.*

A number of distinct processes are in use in Southern Paiute for the expression of grammatical relations or for the formation of derivatives. Some of these are affixational processes, others internal changes of phonetic character. Seven processes may be recognized in all:

(1) COMPOUNDING OF STEMS (see § 18).

(2) ENCLISIS. By enclisis is meant the suffixing of certain elements to any word in the sentence, the resulting complex constituting a firm phonetic, but not a strictly formal, unit. Enclitic elements, except for some of the pronouns, never occur in other than enclitic form. In a "word" like *ivi*'*quntcar*'*cani* DID I TAKE A DRINK? The preterital *-ntca*-, the interrogative *-r'a*-, and the pronominal *-ni* I are enclitic elements, not true suffixes, the true "word," formally speaking, consisting only of *ivi*'*γu*- TO TAKE A DRINK (*ivi*- TO DRINK + momentaneous suffix *-γu*-). This is shown by the fact that the enclitic cluster *-(n)tcar*'*cani* can be appended, without bringing about any strictly formal modifications, to a preceding word in the sentence; e. g. *qan*'*i*'*va*'*tcar*'*can* *ivi*'*γu* HOUSE-AT-PRETERIT-INTERROGATIVE-I DRINK- MOMENTANEOUS, DID I DRINK AT THE HOUSE? Phonetically the form DID-I-AT-THE-HOUSE? is a perfect unit, morphologically it is a word (*qan*'*i*'*va*- HOUSE-AT) plus a number of exteriorly segmented elements that have no independent existence. Enclisis is thus neither true suffixation nor juxtaposition of independent elements. It has the external characteristics of the former (including strict adherence to certain principles of order), the inner feeling of the latter. It is one of the most characteristic processes of Paiute, doubtless of

Plateau Shoshonean generally. Enclitics include pronominal elements (see § 40) and elements of temporal and adverbial force (see § 19).

(3) PREFIXATION (see § 20). A considerable number of elements is prefixed to stems; they consist chiefly of adverbial elements and instrumental prefixes. They have purely derivational, not formal, significance. In origin they are doubtless, at least in large part, independent stems that have lost their individuality and now appear only as first elements of compounds (with *qu-^o* BY MEANS OF FIRE, e. g., cf. independent *qun-a-* FIRE).

(4) SUFFIXATION (see § § 23-37). This is the most important grammatical process of all. Under suffixes are included both derivational elements (e. g. agentive *-vi-ⁿ*, *-mpi-ⁿ*) and elements of strictly formal significance (e. g. objective *-a-*, *-ya-*; verb subordinating *-yai-*, *-qai-*, *-ηqai-*).

(5) REDUPLICATION (see § 58). As a formal process reduplication is always initial. Final reduplication occurs only in isolated words and has no formal or derivational function. There are several distinct types of reduplication. The ideas expressed by the process are chiefly those of distribution, iteration and momentaneous activity.

(6) CONSONANTAL CHANGES. These are quite apart from the mechanical changes undergone by consonants in composition (§ 16). Consonantal changes include:

(a) *Gemination* of stem consonants (see § 53, 2, b). The geminating of the consonant or consonants indicates generally momentaneous or semelfactive as contrasted with durative activity. It is also frequently found in connection with certain types of reduplication (see § 58, 3 and 4). Less commonly it is employed alone to give iterative force to the stem (see § 53, 2, b). Sporadic examples in noun derivationalso occur, e. g. *aip-a-tsu-* BOY: *aiva-(p'itsu-)* YOUTH.

(b) *Glottalization*, the insertion of a more or less movable glottal stop in the body of a stem or suffix. This occurs most frequently in connection with certain types of reduplication (see § 58, 3 and 4). Like gemination, it is also used to express momentaneous activity and iteration (see § 53, 2, a). Gemination and glottalization tend to be associated or equivalent processes. This may eventually help to clear up the origin of the geminating power of certain stems (§ 16, 2).

(7) VOCALIC CHANGES. Certain vocalic interchanges are sporadic and of no functional significance; these may be survivals in part of older processes, in part they have sound-imitative value. Other vocalic interchanges are associated with definite alternations of function.

(a) *Sporadic interchanges.* An alternation of *a* (a) and *o* (o) is found in:

<i>pa-ra-xa-</i>	rain patters	<i>po-o-xwa-</i>	sound of hail, horse's hoofs
<i>pa-nta-ya-</i>	to make a peeking noise	<i>po-nto-γwa-</i>	to sound like a thud

An *a* of the durative alternates with an *i* of the iterative form of the stem in:

<i>ya-ra-γai-</i>	to be afraid	<i>yi'i-p-aq-ai-</i>	to be afraid several times
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i and *o* alternate in:

<i>-fi-γan-ia-</i>	adverbial affix (§ 60, 2, b)	<i>-to-γon-ia-</i>	(rarer form of same)
<i>teo-q-γq-oi-</i>	to sound like a punch- ing noise	<i>tei-q-γq-ii-</i>	ditto

In the latter example the primary form *teo*^s WITH THE FIST (§ 20, 2) is assimilated to the *i*-vowels of the stem; conversely, *-q-γq-oi-* may represent an assimilation of *-q-γq-ii-* to the *o* of the prefix (see § 3, 3, e). Cf. also *pi-k-ik-i-* TO SOUND LIKE A SLAP ON THE BUTTOCKS (*pi*^s WITH THE BUTTOCKS, § 20, 2), in which the same stem with *i*-vowel seems to have become assimilated by the *i* of the prefix. Perhaps more frequent than any of these interchanges is that of *o* and *u*(o); this is apart from the purely phonetic interchanges already spoken of (§ 3, 5, e). Examples are:

<i>pa'-so'rəroi-tei</i>	waterfall	<i>curur'u-</i>	to make a noise of whirling down
<i>toŋqwa-</i>	one (bow) snaps	<i>to-q-wa-</i>	to stretch
<i>po-o- (po-ru-)</i>	several travel	<i>-puru-</i>	(in compound verbs) to go back and forth
<i>toe-a-</i>	white	<i>pa-ruc-a-</i>	Virgin River (lit., water-white)

tup-a-q-i- (tree) comes loose, *tuv-* *tup-w-a-q-i-* one object emerges,
icai- (feathers) come out pulls out, *tuv-w-a-γ(a)i-icai-* sev-
 eral objects emerge, come
 through

(b) *Functional interchanges.* Two types of interchange occur, a qualitative and a quantitative one. To the former belong the change of an *a*, *a'*, *o*, or *u* of the singular verb stem to an *i* in the plural (§ 53, 1, b); the alternation of semelfactive *-i-* with durative or iterative *-a-* (§ 53, 1, c); and the alternation of active *-a-* with static or medio-passive *-i-* (§ 53, 1, d). The latter process, vocalic lengthening, is employed partly to indicate futurity, partly in certain continuative forms.

§ 18. *Compounding of Stems.*

Both compound nouns and verbs (including adjectives) may be freely formed in Paiute. A large number are in constant and idiomatic use, while new compounds can be constructed without difficulty. The process of compounding is evidently very much alive in Paiute. Triple compounds, i. e. compounds involving three independent stems, are by no means infrequent (e. g. *qava'(u)-xwa'ci-vūx-i* HORSE-TAIL-HAIR; *qūtea'-rū'ma-i-vū'atcu-* BLOOD-ROAST-ASK FOR). Even quadruple compounds are not unknown. Nouns frequently lose an absolutive or classificatory suffix when compounded (e. g. *-tsu-*, § 24, 1, f; *-vi-*, *-p-i-*, *-mpi-*, § 24, 1, a and b; *-vū-* *-p-i-*, *-mpi-*, § 24, 1, d and e); e. g. *soγo'-φū* MOIST GROUND, *NA'-co'γo'-ma-vu-* TO LIE COVERED OVER WITH EARTH.

(1) *COMPOUND NOUNS.* Compound nouns are most easily classified with reference to the nature of the first and second compounded terms. Triple and quadruple compounds are always morphologically binary, one or both of the terms being in turn compound. Thus, the examples given above are to be analyzed as HORSE-TAIL + HAIR and BLOOD-ROAST + ASK FOR. Nouns stems, particularly in initial position, sometimes appear in abbreviated form; e. g. *nū-n* PERSON < *nūγwī-s*, *na-n* TRAIL < *naγwa-s*, *pa-s* WATER < *pa-s*. For *mō'o-s* HAND is sometimes used *ma-s* (cf. verb prefix *ma-s*, § 20, 2). The qualifying element regularly precedes. Noun compounds whose second element is a participle or adjective, though logically substantival, are morphologically best interpreted as either verbs (adjectives) with incorporated noun subject or object (see 2, f below) or, more frequently, participial derivatives of such verbs (adjectives).

(a) *Noun + noun compounds*. These are extremely common. In many cases the primary force is given by the second noun, the first element of the compound merely modifying its range of significance. Examples are:

<i>tiv'a'tsi-</i> wolf + <i>na-va'n-ŋwī-</i> brothers	<i>tiv'a'tsinavavŋwī</i> wolf-brothers, Wolf and his brother (Coyote)
<i>qwiya'-(tsi-)</i> grizzly bear + <i>ma(u)ma'uts</i> young woman	<i>qwiya'ma(u)ma'uts</i> grizzly-bear woman
<i>qava-a</i> horse + <i>pa'n-a-s</i> metal + <i>pat-ca-</i> moccasin	<i>qava'va-n-ap-at-ca</i> horseshoe
<i>ina-</i> badger (absolute <i>ina'mpits</i>)	<i>ina'n-ŋwōŋwī</i> badger people; <i>in-α'n-ia-φi</i> badger chief; <i>ina'-ŋwac-1</i> badger tail (absolute <i>qwa'st'φi</i> tail)
<i>pi'p-un'wa-s</i> woodpecker + <i>tiv'i-vi-</i> friend	<i>pi'p-un'warixivŋa</i> his woodpecker-friend
<i>san-a-s</i> gum (absolute <i>san-a'p-1</i>) + <i>atci-</i> bow	<i>san-a'atci</i> gum bow
<i>ma-s</i> hand (absolute <i>ma'c'φi</i>) + <i>guna'φi</i> sack	<i>MA²qu'naφi</i> glove
<i>nī-</i> person (absolute <i>nī'ŋwī</i> , <i>nī'ŋwīnts</i>)	<i>nīŋqa'n-1φi</i> somebody else's horse
<i>pa-s</i> water (absolute <i>pa'</i>)	<i>paŋw'aφi</i> water-oak; <i>paŋw'aφi</i> mud at bottom of water (< <i>via'φi</i> mud)

Frequent also are "bahuvrihi" compounds, i. e. such as indicate that the noun referred to by the second element of the compound is possessed by an understood or specified person, animal, or object (cf. such English compounds as *hunchback*, i. e. HAVING A HUMPED BACK). Examples are:

<i>cīnaŋwavi-</i> coyote + <i>tst-si-s</i> head (absolute <i>tst'φi</i>)	<i>cīna'ŋwavitstst</i> coyote-headed, crazy-headed person
<i>qut-cu-</i> buffalo + <i>tan-as-1ŋa-</i> hoof cleft + <i>wīŋi-</i> vulva (absolute <i>wīŋi'mpi</i>)	<i>qut'cu'ntan-as-1ŋawix-i</i> (girl with a) vulva that is cleft like a buffalo hoof
<i>naya-</i> mountain sheep + <i>nampa-s</i> foot (absolute <i>nampa'φi</i>)	<i>naxa'nampa</i> mountain-sheep-foot (personal name)

None too frequently juxtaposition of phonetically independent

nouns occurs in lieu of composition, e. g. *qava'(u)xwA'cwaäy amü nava'vñwü* HORSE-TAIL-HAIR THEY BROTHERS, THE HORSE-TAIL-HAIR BROTHERS; *qava'ruwals piya'p'its* HORSE-CHILD FEMALE, FILLY.

(b) *Noun + participle compounds.* As already remarked, such compound nouns are morphologically active or passive participles of verbs with incorporated nominal subjects or objects respectively. They function as true nouns nevertheless. Indeed, to only a slight extent can the verbs be freely used with the incorporated noun subjects, while participial derivatives of such verbs are very frequent. Moreover, in some cases the participle of these compounds has taken on a considerably specialized meaning, notably *qarī'-rī* SITTING (plural *yuywi'-tcī*), used in compounds to mean KNOLL, PEAK, ISLAND. Examples of compounds in which the noun is morphologically a subject of the verb implied by the participle are:

<i>qaiva-</i> mountain + <i>avi'-tcī</i> lying	<i>qa'iva-vitcī</i> mountain-lying, plateau, Kaibab Plateau
<i>ovi-</i> wood + <i>sa'ma'q'a-nñi-</i> lying spread out	<i>ovi's-a'maq'anñi</i> timber laid low on the ground
<i>añqəvi-</i> dried-up tree + <i>wññi-rī</i> standing	<i>a'ñqəviwññirīA</i> dried up tree that was standing (obj.)
<i>pa-</i> , <i>pa-</i> water + <i>qarī'-rī</i> sitting (plur. <i>yuywi'-tcī</i>)	<i>pa'q-arīrī</i> , <i>pa'ya'rīrī</i> water-sitting, lake (plur. <i>paiyv'xwutcī</i>) lakes)
<i>-qarī'-rī</i> sitting, knoll, peak, clump, island	<i>maa'xarīrī</i> brush-sitting, timbered knoll, clump of woods; <i>qa'ivaxarīrī</i> mountain-sitting, mountain peak; <i>yiv'ñkarīrī</i> pine peak, Mount Trumbull; <i>niv'a'xarīrī</i> snow-sitting, snow covered peak; <i>əv'əqwarīrī</i> fir-sitting, fir island
<i>-narīywi-n-α-p'ī</i> being powerful, power-endowed	<i>nñwñ'narīywi-n-αp'ī</i> person-power endowed, person endowed with unusual strength; <i>qu'tu'c-unarīxwi-n-αp'ī</i> giant-power-endowed, person endowed with gigantic power
<i>tava'c-u-p'ī</i> dried up (< <i>tavac-u-</i> it dries up)	<i>əv'ntavac-up'ī</i> fir-dried up, dried up fir

qwa'ci'-p'i ripe (< *qwa'ci-* to *a'p'oric-izwa'cip'i* apple-ripen, be done) ened, ripe apples

Rarely the noun is found detached from its participle, e. g. beside objective *pa-ya'ri'riA*, *pa'-q-ar'riA* LAKE we have also *paa'ia qari'riA* WATER (obj.) SITTING (obj.).

Rather different from these examples in inner, if not outer, form are compounds in which the participle is freely used in a substantival sense. They are really ordinary noun + noun compounds, in which the logical emphasis is on the second element. Examples are:

NU²qwi'-nti stream (lit., flowing) *A'ta'n-U²qwn^{ti}* sand stream (i. e. "stream with sandy bed," not "streaming, flowing sand")
tA²qa'-ya-nti being flat, a "flat" *A'ta'RA²qa-yan^{ti}* sand-flat (not "flat sand")

Very common are noun + participle compounds in which the noun is to be thought of as the object of the verb back of the participle. Here again the compound is functionally a noun, the logical emphasis being generally placed on the first element. Examples are:

to'o'ivü- bulrush + *ora-n-an* my *to'o'ivüran-an ur* my-bulrush-dug it, the bulrushes that I dug up
paï^o blood + *mantcaq'ai-n-a-* *pa'm-antcaq-ain-a^{phi}* his own stretching out (one's) hands, blood-hand-stretched out, his hands stretched out own bloody hands
tot-si- head + *t'i'm^a-p-i* roasted *to'tsi't'i'm^aap-i* head-roasted, roasted head
qanu- house + *mama'x-aqai'-pi-* *qanu'mamax-qai'pianA* his house- having been given (by many) given (by many), his house given (him) by many
piŋwa- wife + *tv-ŋwa'i-p'i* picked *piŋwa'rv-ŋwaip'in* my wife- picked up, my wife who has been picked up (by me)
qut-cu- buffalo, beef + *iya'-p'i* *qu'tcu'iyap'i* dried beef cut up and dried

Such examples differ in inner form from compounds in which the noun is an ordinary incorporated noun object of an active participle, e. g. *tümp'w'i'-n-ar'ŋqwa-nti* STONE-WEARING, STONE-CLOTHES.

(c) *Noun + adjective compounds.* Most adjectives are really verbs (predicative) or participles of verbs (attributive). There are, however, a few cases of true adjectives with nominal suffixes (e. g. *-mpī-*, *-tsi-*) which, in compounds, follow the noun they qualify, e. g.:

qanu- house + *ɪt-ü-mpī-* old *qanu'ɪt-ümpī* house-old, old house
wi'a-^s penis + *pi'to'p-i- ts-* short *wi'a'p'i'to'p-its-* penis-short, short penised ("bahuvrihi")

(d) *Noun + verb compounds.* Nouns which are compounded of a noun stem and a bare verb (or adjective-verb) stem are extremely uncommon. They seem to belong to the "bahuvrihi" type. Examples are:

wi'a-^s penis + *no²qo'mi* to bend *wi'a'n'no²qo'mi* penis-bend, bent-penised (personal name)
pa-^s water + *tuc-a-* to be white *paru'c-A* water-white, Virgin River (ordinarily *toe-a-*)

(e) *Verb + noun compounds.* These are fairly frequent, e. g.:

no- to carry on one's back *no'q-ava'* pack-horse; *no's-ari-ts-* pack-dog
yai- to hunt + *qava'* horse *yaa'ik-ava'* hunting horse
na²u'q-wi- to fight + *nun-i'a-* *na²u'q-wi-n-ia-wiwi* fight
wiwi chiefs chiefs, battle chiefs
yaya- to cry + *uw'i-a²i* song *yaya'uw'ia²i* cry-song, song used in mourning ceremony
NA'sa''a- to boil oneself, sweat + *NA'sa''aq-anl* sweat-house
qa'nl house

Here must be included compounds of adjective-verb stems and noun stems, which also are quite common, particularly in a "bahuvrihi" sense (sometimes nominalized by *-tsi-*, § 24, 1, f) and in verbal derivatives in *-kai-* TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, b). Examples are:

pi²k-a-^s to be sore *pi²ka'xwi-i* sore-buttocks (personal name); *pi²ka'mo²* sore-handed); *pi²ka'r²ts-* sore-head(ed); *pi²ka'nampats-* sore-foot(ed) (one)
pi²k-a-^s to be hard *pi²ka'a²iA* hard-turtle, land turtle; *pi²ka'xuna²i* hard-bag, rawhide bag

<i>aŋqa-</i> to be red	<i>aŋqa'p-aŋi'</i> red-fish, trout; <i>aŋqa'-ora-phi</i> red-pole; <i>aŋqa'q-an</i> red-house
<i>to'a-</i> to be white	<i>to'ca'p-aiyampa-ts-</i> white-breasted (one), gull; <i>to'ca'p-aiya-tsi-ŋanti</i> white-breast-having, gull
<i>tca-</i> to be wrinkled	<i>tca'xuv'a-xai-</i> to have a wrinkled face; <i>tca'm'o-xwai-</i> to have wrinkled hands

Under this heading may also be included nominalized participles based on verbs compounded of verb (or adjective) + verb, e. g. *aŋqa'q-wi'car* RED-FLASHING, LIGHTNING; and nouns compounded of verb (or adjective) stems and participles that have substantival force to begin with, e. g. *aŋqa'p-a-NU²qwin* RED-STREAM (*pa'-NU²-qwi-nti* WATER-FLOWING, STREAM).

(f) *Participle + noun compounds.* This type of noun compound is not uncommon. Examples are:

<i>man-u-</i> all + <i>-va-nti-</i> future participle	<i>man-u'va-nŋip-a'atsvŋw</i> all-kinds-of-animals that are destined to be
<i>nana'x-qa-nti-</i> being of different kinds	<i>nana'x-qantŋqan</i> different kinds of houses
<i>s-ŋqwa'nanqwa-t-i-</i> being on the other side, the other	<i>s-ŋqwa'nanqwat-iaŋavini</i> my other arm
<i>a'a-t-i-</i> being good	<i>tiw'i'ts at-uuv'iaia(u)phi</i> very his-own-good-song (obj.), his own very good song

The noun of the compound may, of course, itself be participial in form, e. g. *to'q-wari-nu'qwin* BEING BLACK-STREAMING, BLACK STREAM.

(g) *Adjective + noun compounds.* Aside from adjective-verb stems and adjective-verb participles, true adjectives may also be used as the first, qualifying, elements of noun compounds, some of them (e. g. *ai-* NEW and *i-* OLD) being apparently found only in such compounds. Examples are:

<i>mua'-p-i-</i> little (absolute <i>mua''p-i-ts-</i>)	<i>mua''p-im'-onts</i> little hand; <i>mua''-p-i-xanints</i> little house
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<i>pa-vi-s</i> clear + <i>pa-</i> water	<i>pa-vu'mpa'</i> clear water
<i>ai-s</i> new	<i>a'in-aṇwa-ḡA</i> his fresh tracks; ' <i>a'iv-wa-vi-ts</i> newly-married one (< <i>piṇwa-</i> wife)
<i>i-s</i> old	<i>i'p-uṇḡuni</i> my old horse; <i>i'p-ṇani</i> my old relative

Some adjectives may precede the nouns they qualify as independent terms, e. g. also *ma''p-i-ts qa'ni* LITTLE HOUSE.

(h) *Numeral + noun compounds*. These are very common and comprise one of the typical methods of expressing numeral relations. For examples see § 59, 2, b.

(i) *Pronoun + noun compounds*. These are quite rare, including terms compounded with interrogative *in-i-s* WHAT KIND OF, WHICH and *qima-s* OTHER, which has certain pronominal peculiarities (see § 39, 2). Examples are:

<i>in-i-s</i> what + <i>ṭi-ṇi-vi-</i> friend	' <i>ini'ntci-ṇi-vi-ni</i> what friend of mine?
<i>qima-s</i> other + <i>qani-</i> house	<i>qima'ḡani-ni</i> my other house

qima- may also qualify as an independent pronoun, e. g. *qima'ric-U qani'ni* MY OTHER HOUSE.

(j) *Adverb + noun compounds*. These also are rare. An example is:

<i>tanṭi'v-ai-</i> far west	<i>tanṭi'v-ai-w-aṇi</i> far-west songs, songs borrowed from western tribes
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(2) COMPOUND VERBS. Verbs compounded with other independent stems, particularly verbs and nouns, are extremely common in Paiute. Under compound verbs are, of course, to be included adjective-verbs and participles.

(a) *Verb + verb compounds*. A great many verb stems may be used as the second elements of compound verbs. As to their morphological force, they seem to fall into two groups, those whose action is to be thought of as contemporaneous or coordinate with that of the first verb stem (here belong particularly verbs of position and movement) and those upon which the first verb stem logically depends as a kind of object (e. g. TO WRITE-PRACTICE, TO PRACTICE WRITING).

It is not easy to draw a sharp line between the two groups. Not a few verb stems are used chiefly, if not entirely, as second elements of compounds. Some have become specialized in a quasi-formal significance (e. g. *-paiyi-* TO RETURN, also TO HAVE JUST DONE SO AND SO).

Among the former group are: *-avi-* TO LIE (sing.); *-m-ia-* SEVERAL GO, TRAVEL, GO IN ORDER TO; *-nuq-wi-* TO RUN, START OFF; *-nu'i-k'ai-* SEVERAL STAND; *-paγ(a)i-* TO WALK, in compounds generally WHILE ON ONE'S WAY; *-pa(i)yi-* TO RETURN, BACK; *-pan-aya-* SEVERAL RETURN; *-pitci-* TO ARRIVE; *-pīn-i-* TO SEE, LOOK; *-puru-* TO GO ABOUT, FROM PLACE TO PLACE (cf. independent *poro-* SEVERAL JOURNEY); *-qa-* TO SING; *-qari-* TO SIT (sing.); *-qwavi-* SEVERAL LIE; *-kwip-a-* TO HIT; *-waywi-* SEVERAL STAND; *-wīn-i-* TO STAND (sing.); *-yuywi-* SEVERAL SIT. Examples are:

<i>-avi-</i> to lie	<i>yni'auχa'</i> while thus-do-lying, while lying as described; <i>tA'pa'-c'kaiavi'</i> lies senseless; <i>tī'qa'-auk'ai'</i> several eat in lying position
<i>-m-ia-</i> several travel (not frequent as independent verb)	<i>tu(w)a'm-iap-iya'</i> each gave birth while on their way; <i>qa'm-iap-iya'</i> (they) sang while on their way, went in order to sing; <i>nontsi'k'amuaya'</i> as (they) flew along
<i>-paγ(a)i-</i> to walk	<i>qa'p'aγ(a)ip-iya'</i> (he) sang while on (his) way; <i>qwan'ηupax-i-piya'</i> (they) stopped to camp while traveling
<i>-pa(i)yi-</i> to return	<i>ya'va(i)'yiq-wA</i> bring it back; <i>no'p-a(i)yuk-ipiya'</i> came back home carrying on (his) back
<i>-pitci-</i> to arrive	<i>ivi'vitci'</i> comes to drink; <i>tea-'a'iviteχw'aip-iya'</i> went and took hold of (her) as soon as (he) arrived
<i>-puru-</i> to go about	<i>a'ivurup-iya'</i> said as (he) went here and there; <i>pax(a)'impuruχwa'</i> while walking from one to another

-qa-	to sing	<i>u'cu'q-wi:xa-p'īya'</i>	whistled and sang, whistled a tune	
-qari-	to sit	<i>pīn-i'k-ari:xa'</i>	while sitting and looking; <i>qwi:ca'xari:p-īya'</i>	sat down and defecated
-waŋwi-	several stand	<i>qa'ŋwaŋwi'</i>	several stand and sing	
-wīn-i-	to stand (sing.)	<i>naŋqa't-caŋwīn:p-īya'</i>	stood and listened; <i>ampa'xawīn:nī'</i>	stands and talks

Some of the latter group of verb stems are: -*ampa:ya-* TO TALK; -*mau:p-a-*, -*mau:q-u-* TO FINISH, STOP (-*mau:q-u-* only in compounds); -*ma:q'īŋ-wa-* TO TRY; -*muc-wi-* TO TRY; -*pai-* TO CALL UPON; -*pīn-i-* (n'ni-) TO LOOK AROUND FOR; -*pu:t-cu:cu:ŋwa-* TO LEARN HOW; -*qora-* TO PUT OUT; -*fīya-* TO PRACTICE, TRY; DIRECT, TALK ABOUT; -*fīŋwawa:ya-* TO MAKE A NOISE OF; -*fīw'ī:cu-* TO ASK FOR; -*fīw'ī:cu'-a-* TO LEARN HOW; -*tuc-uŋ'wi-* TO EXERCISE POWER. Examples are:

- <i>mau:p-a-</i> , - <i>mau:q-u-</i>	to finish	<i>tī'qa'm-ai'p-a</i>	be through eating;	<i>fīya'n-imau:q-utsaŋA</i>	having finished butchering him
- <i>muc-wi-</i>	to try	<i>pī'pī't-a'n'm'v'cu'i'</i>	tries to vomit		
- <i>fīya-</i>	to measure (as absolute verb)	<i>wī'l't-īya-i'</i>	practices dancing;	<i>kiya't-īxa-m'ip-īya'</i>	he always commanded a round-dance to take place; <i>pA²qa'xw'ō:ta:xa'xa'</i>
			talking of going to kill		
- <i>fīŋwawa:ya-</i>	to make a noise of	<i>ampa'ŋwawa:za'i'</i>	sounds like talking;	<i>mumpa't-ŋwawa:za'i'</i>	sounds like something rolling
- <i>fīw'ī:cu-</i>	to ask for	<i>fīxwi'n-at-īw'ī:cu:xa'wai'īŋwA</i>	go and ask him to tell a story;	<i>cwi'x-afīw'ī:cup-īya:īyaŋA</i>	asked him to go for squaw-bush
- <i>tuc-uŋ'wi-</i>	to exercise power	<i>ya'a'it-u'cuŋ'wū:īyaŋaŋi</i>	he exercises power upon me (so as) to (make me) die		

The most noteworthy examples of compounded verb stems that have developed a non-concrete formal significance are illustrated below:

- paiyi-* to return > to have been doing so and so (sing.) *ivi'vaiyi'* drink-returns, has been drinking; *qa'vaiyuk'aiyianηA* he has sing-returned, he must have been singing
- pan'aya-* dit. (plur.) *pA²qa'vanayaya'* (they) kill-returning, (they) having been killing
- pīn-i-m'ia-* to look- be on one's way, to be on the lookout for > to be just about to *tī'qa'p'inumai'* is on the lookout to eat, is about to eat; *ya'uq-wi-pīnumi(y)ayoaqA* when it was on the lookout to set, when the sun was about to set
- qari-* to sit > to keep on doing so and so, to be engaged in so and so *tī'qa'q'arīi'* eat-sits, keeps on eating; *wīnī'charīi'* stand-sitting, one engaged in standing, one stationed (to keep watch in hunting)
- yuywi-* dit. (plur.) *wīnī'yuxwēcimī* stand-sitting (plur.), those stationed
- cua-ηu-* to finish eating > completion *ivi'c'uaηU* to drink-finish, to drain
- tup^wi-k-u-* to be used up > completion *na'a'it-u'p^wik-Uqwa'* has been used up, has burnt up

Such a second verb-stem needs only to drop out of independent usage to take on the appearance of a suffix. This step has undoubtedly been taken more than once (see § 28).

Under the rubric of verb + verb compounds are to be included also compounds of adjective-verb stem and verb stem and of adjective-verb stem and adjective-verb stem. Examples of the former are:

- paiⁿ-* to be smooth *pa'ntA'cuu'kwinqī* to slip on something smooth
- anqa-* to be red *anqa'χwicA* to flash red; *anqa'-q'arīi'* paints the face (generally but not necessarily, red)
- pa-saywa^s* to be water-gray + *pīnuk'ai-* to see, look *pa'saxwawīnuk'aip'iyain'i'* looked water-gray in (his) eyes
- saywa^s* to be gray + *pūrīr'i-* to hang down *saxwō'vūrīr'i'-pa-ts* blue-hanging-down spring
- saru-* to be hoarse + *ampaya-* to talk *saru'ampayai'* talks hoarse

Examples of adjective-verb compounds consisting of adjective-verb + adjective-verb (or adjective-verb participle) are:

<i>to-^o</i> to be black + <i>-m'unuq-wa-</i>	<i>to-'m'unuq-wa-p'iyain-i'</i> became
to become round	like black and round
<i>paï-ⁿ</i> to be smooth + <i>yua-γai-</i>	<i>paï'yua-xa'</i> to be smooth and
to be level	level
<i>to-^o</i> to be black + <i>pa'n'nca-</i>	<i>to-'p'a-n-caγantī</i> being black and
<i>γantī-</i> being hollow	hollow
<i>-saγwa-γa-ri-</i> being blue	<i>A'si'saγwayarī</i> roan-blue, very
	light blue; <i>qu'tca'c'aγwayarī</i>
	ashen-blue, light blue; <i>tv'c-a-</i>
	<i>γwayarī</i> black-blue, dark blue

(b) *Adjective + verb compounds.* Compounds of true adjectives (not merely adjective-verb stems), including participles, and verbs (or participles) are quite uncommon, except for compounds whose first element is *'a't-i-* GOOD, e. g. *'a't'impv'tcu'tcuγwap'iy'a'aik-wa* WELL (HE) UNDERSTOOD IT; *'a't'ūmpa²qayup'iyaiyaŋa* KILLED HIM GOOD AND HARD; *'a't'inayqap'iy'a'aik-wa* or *'a't'inayqap'iy'a'aik-wa* HEARD IT CORRECTLY, CLEARLY; *'a't'iwa'aŋintcī* GOOD-SHOUTING, GOOD SHOUTER. It is remarkable that in most of these examples *'a't-i-* and the following verb are treated as accentually distinct, i. e. the law of alternating stresses is broken. The doublets *-nay-qap'iy'a'aik-wa* and *-na'ŋqap'iy'a'aik-wa* shows the struggle between the force of analogy of the simplex and the regular operation of the phonetic law.

(c) *Pronoun + verb compounds.* Independent personal pronouns are not compounded with verbs. Under this heading, however, are included verbs compounded with quasi-pronominal *qima-* OTHER (see § 39, 2) and verbs compounded of independent personal pronoun + *-ric-u'ai-n-a'ai-* TO PAY NO ATTENTION TO. Examples are:

<i>qima-</i> other	<i>qim-a'ntcīkwa-ŋwa'a</i> shall not be
	mixed up with others
<i>-ric-u'ai-n-a'ai-</i> to pay no atten-	<i>nīru'c-u'ain-a'a</i> pay no attention
tion to	to me; <i>aŋa'ricu'ain-a'a</i> pay no
	attention to him

The latter examples are just as readily explainable as verbalized pronoun + postposition (see § 50, 4, 29).

(d) *Numeral + verb compounds.* These are very uncommon. An example of a verb compounded with *naḡwa''aḡ-ump.AʔqaḡU* TO KILL BOTH (i. e. to guess correctly both bone-positions in hand game).

(e) *Adverb + verb compounds.* The adverbs here referred to may occur also independently. There is no real line of demarcation between them and specialized adverbial prefixes (§ 20). Examples are:

nava'cu- in vain

nava'cuḡp.AʔqaḡU to kill in vain
(note accentual irregularity,
cf. b above).

qatcu- not + *-ḡiya-* to become

qatcu't-ḡiyaḡyḡni I not-become, I
am becoming exhausted

tḡ'ḡwī- (. . . *nia-*) quickly

tḡ'ḡwīḡḡamuyacu I am wont to
eat quickly; *tḡ'ḡwīna-vaip-ḡyai-*
n'aḡwa was gathering them
up quickly

(f) *Noun + verb compounds.* These comprise examples of what is ordinarily known as noun incorporation. The absolutive or classificatory suffix of the noun is frequently lost in noun-verb compounds. The syntactic relation implied between the verb and its incorporated noun may be of various sorts. The incorporated noun may be an instrument; it may indicate similarity; it may function as a direct object; it may have local significance; it may function as the subject of the verb; it may be a predicate of the subject; or it may be a predicate of the object. Any of these relations may be, and more often is, expressed by properly syntactic or morphological processes. It is not possible to give a simple rule as to when noun incorporation is possible or required, whether, e. g., to say I TRAIL-SEEK or I SEEK A TRAIL. There is a good deal of option in this matter, but many cases of incorporation are fixed by idiomatic usage. There is some tendency to express what might be called characteristic or generalized relations by syntactic means. Any general and valid rule, however, is hardly to be formulated.

(a) An *instrumental* function is illustrated in:

<i>taḡu-</i> thirst + <i>paḡa-</i> to be sore,	<i>taḡu'p.Aʔqa-</i> to be sore with
to have pain	thirst, to be thirsty
<i>aḡ-</i> tongue	<i>axo'rḡvḡi</i> licks

<i>pua</i> - ^s "medicine" + <i>qwi</i> - to take	<i>pua</i> '(u)χwī takes out (disease object) by means of "medicine"
<i>qwas</i> - ^s tail + <i>kwp</i> - ^a to hit	<i>qwa</i> 's'u'xwī'pap'ixaiyaq'a hit it with (his) tail
<i>a</i> - ^s horn + <i>tn</i> - ^a to punch, strike	<i>a</i> 't'ən-ap'īya' struck at with (his) horns
<i>wii</i> - ^s knife	<i>wii</i> 't'ən-ap'īya' stabbed with a knife; <i>wii</i> 'ηwī'paq'un'NA to rip open with a knife

The verb *ya'ai*- TO DIE is idiomatically used with incorporated nouns of instrumental function to express various unpleasant psychic states, e. g. *tu'qwi*'-*y'ai*- TO BE ASHAMED; *naŋa*'-*i'ai*- TO ANGER-DIE, TO BE ANGRY; *tiŋi*'(i)-*ya'ai*- TO HUNGER-DIE, TO BE HUNGRY.

(β) A few examples have been found in which the incorporated noun has *similative* significance. It is quite doubtful if such can be considered as representing a distinct type. Examples are:

<i>ta</i> 'ci'ηwα-mpī coarse gravel	<i>ta</i> 'ci'ηwiyuntaq'aŋ'i' keeps changing color like gravel
<i>nampa</i> '-φi foot	<i>nampa</i> 'riŋwayaxai' sounds like footsteps

(γ) The use of the incorporated noun as *direct object* is very common. Examples are:

<i>paŋi</i> - ^s fish	<i>paŋi</i> 'uŋiq'ai' eats fish
<i>qwa</i> 'a't'i'qai' tobacco	<i>qwa</i> 'a't'i'qai' tobacco-eats, smokes
<i>atci</i> - bow	<i>atci</i> 'p'iyava' shall put away bow (for future use)
<i>muw</i> 'i'-p-i nose	<i>muw</i> 'i't'cau'nai' scratches (his) nose
<i>nīŋwi</i> - ^s person	<i>nīŋwi</i> 'φucaŋai'ixwa' go look for a person!
<i>ɔv</i> - ⁿ stick	<i>ɔv</i> 'ya-vaiyup'īya' stick-bring-returned, brought back a stick
<i>pa</i> - ^s water	<i>pa</i> -ru'uma to take water
<i>wantsi</i> - antelope	<i>wantsi</i> 't'inavuruxuni while I was chasing antelopes around

Some incorporated nouns appear in abbreviated form, e. g. *nī*-ⁿ as well as *nīŋwi*-^s PERSON, *pa*-^s as well as *pa*-^s WATER. Examples are:

<i>na-n</i> track, trail (absolute <i>naŋwa'-phi</i>)	<i>nanŋi'nai'</i> follows trail, tracks; <i>namp'i'n'in-i'i'</i> looks for track; <i>nampu'c'aŋai'kup-i'ya'</i> started to look for a track
<i>nü-n</i> person (absolute <i>nü'ŋwĩ, nñŋwĩ'nts</i>)	<i>nñntu'aŋqĩ-</i> to give birth to (a person); <i>N'i'ci'm-wĩA</i> to let a person go
<i>pa-s</i> water (absolute <i>pa'</i>)	<i>pa(i)yu''A²qi'</i> brings water

(δ) Less common is the use of the incorporated noun in a *local* sense. Examples are:

<i>tavi-</i> sun (poetic)	<i>tavi'aviŋa'</i> while lying in the sun
<i>pa-s</i> water	<i>pami'nicuk-w'aiva'</i> will turn upside down in the water; <i>para'-n'iŋu-tsiŋwĩ</i> people who stick their feet in the water (tribal name)
<i>-pA²qa'ŋqĩ-</i> to have a pain	<i>tó'tsi'φA²qanqĩyĩni</i> I have a headache; <i>moov'p.A²qanqĩyĩni</i> I have a toothache
<i>qani-s</i> house + <i>paŋu-</i> to walk	<i>qani'vaŋu'n'</i> visits around in the houses

(ε) Examples of the *subjective* use of the incorporated noun are:

<i>pa-s</i> water	<i>paŋu'nuyɔŋwai'</i> water is boiling
<i>paŋi'n-a-s</i> fog, cloud + <i>qA²qa'rĩ-</i> to settle, begin to sit	<i>paŋi'n-ax-qarĩxu'</i> would become foggy (lit., fog would begin to sit); <i>paŋi'n-aŋwĩnupa-ŋeiYĩ</i> cloud stands up and walks (poetic)
<i>tava-</i> sun	<i>tava'(i)yaug-wi'</i> sun sets; <i>tava''-maŋwĩc-i'</i> sun rises
<i>m''i'a't-ɔŋɔ-</i> moon	<i>m''a't-ɔŋɔ'i'ai'</i> moon dies
<i>nñv''a-</i> snow + <i>uŋwa-</i> to rain	<i>nñv''a'uŋwara-n-i'ag'A</i> it will snow-rain, it will snow

More common than verbs with incorporated noun subjects are noun-functioning participles of such verbs (see 1, b).

(ζ) Examples of the use of the incorporated noun as a *predicate* of the *subject* are:

na·n· chief

na·'uampayai' talks as chief,
talks in council; *na·'vnti'-*
qay'wI to become a chief

fi·γi·v·i- friend + *tca'ai-* to catch,
grasp

fi·γi·v·itca'ai- to grasp (each
other's hands) as friends

fi·γai-, *ti'qay'wi-* TO BECOME is very frequently compounded with predicative nouns, e. g. *nīwī'riqay'wI* TO BECOME A MAN; *son·i'aywī-rīxaiŋu* TO BECOME THE DIPPER; *on·nli'qay'wintca·ŋA* HE BECAME A STICK. The distinction between types (ε) and (ζ) is perhaps somewhat arbitrary.

(η) The use of the incorporated noun as a *predicate of the object* is not very common. Examples are:

quma· husband

quma'xwū'ŋwA to take him for
a husband

piŋwa· wife

piŋwa'xw'ip·i·γaiŋaŋA took her
for a wife

§ 19. *Enclitics.*

Enclitics, as already pointed out (§ 17, 2), may be attached to any word in the sentence. The pronominal enclitic elements will be treated later in connection with the independent personal pronouns (§ 40). Here we shall discuss only enclitics of adverbial significance. Except in certain specified cases, they regularly precede pronominal enclitics.

(1) ENCLITICS OF TEMPORAL SIGNIFICANCE. Two enclitic elements are used to refer to past time.

(a) *-tca-*, *-ntca-*. This element refers to the recent past and is often best translated by the English perfect. For the forms *-tca'*, *-ntca'* see § 7. Examples are:

tōna'ti·tcani I have been hit

tav'tsulca·ŋani pA'qa'ŋuni having-hit-past-he-me kill-me; having hit
me, he killed me (note that *-tca-* here refers not to *tav'tsu-* HAVING
HIT, but to following *pA'qa'ŋu-* KILL)

witsi''tsiatca·ŋ qo'q·wI bird- obj.-past- he shoot, he shot the bird

wa'q·utcani qava'x·A two-obj.-past- I horse receive, I received two
horses

tōna'ntcani I struck (not long ago)

imä'ntca' pi'p'itci thou-past arrive, you arrived
u(w)a'n'oyuntca paiyü'yu over there-past return, has been there and
 returned from there

If a pronominal enclitic is used possessively with the preceding noun, the enclitic *-(n)tca-* follows (aside from *-phi* ONE'S OWN), e. g.:

mqa'n'intc aya mompa'q'u father-my-past he roll-off, my father rolled off

but:

o'atsa-yaphi qwü' arrow-obj.-past-he-own take, he took his own arrow

With interrogative *ai-* (§ 44, 2, c) *-tca-* apparently refers to present time, e. g. *a'itcaaywa* WHERE IS HE? but there is probably an implied reference to the past, e. g. WHERE HAS HE (GONE TO)? It is sometimes used with exhortative *iw'i-* (§ 60, 2, d), e. g. *iw'i'tcan-ix'a* LET-PAST-ME-THEN, LET ME THEN!

(b) *-ywa-*, a general preterital element referring to more remote time than *-(n)tca-*. For the form *-ywa'* see § 7. Examples are:

pa'qa'yuywa-nani I killed him (narrative form; contrast *pa'qa'-yuntca-nani* I have killed him [just now])

nä'xwa'aywa pa'qa'yuy I-past-him kill, I killed him

an-i'axw aiv'i qa'ya' what-past would-say while-singing? what did he sing?

aya'x uru'ia who-past he? who was he? (*-x < -xw*; § 13, 7, c)

nä'ywa' to'na I-past punch, I punched (long ago)

That *-ywa-* is no true tense suffix is shown by the fact that it may be used with the verbal *-yi-* suffix of present time (see § 32, 1), e. g.:

imi'xwar'ua'q'a mari'qaiyiaq'a thou-past-interrogative-it create-present-it? didst thou create it?

ivi'yixwa-q'aya drink-present-past-it-he, he drank it (long ago)

A broken form *-ywa'a-* (perhaps *-ywa-* + *-a-*, 3) also occurs. Its morphology is not clear. Examples are:

yui'tsiywa'an uw'a'ni then-past-I there-I, then I was there

nä'naxwa'axain-i qari'i me-past-too sit-present, I too was seated

imi'axwa'axain-i qari'i thee-past-too-sit-present, you too (it was said) were seated

For the objective form of the personal pronoun in the last two examples see § 39, 4.

(2) ENCLITICS OF MODAL AND SENTENCE-CONNECTIVE SIGNIFICANCE. Several of these are used in idiomatic connections that do not readily yield insight into their primary significance. It is believed, however, that the chief elements and uses are given below.

(a) *-γain·ia-*, *-aγain·ia-* TOO, ALSO. These elements always follow pronominal enclitics, when present. The form *-aγain·ia-* is probably compounded of *-a-* (see 3, a below) and *-γain·ia-*; it is not at all clear how it differs in use or meaning from *-γain·ia-*. *-γain·ia-* itself is perhaps compounded of *-n·ia-* (see d below). Examples of *-γain·ia-* ALSO, TOO are:

nū'χain·i' I too
uγwa'c·uγwain·i' that one too
cu'yuχwain·i' still another one
nim^w·i'χain·i' we (exclusive) too
tī'qa'xw'aiva·n·iχain·i' I also will go to eat

Examples of *-aγain·ia-* TOO are:

nānwū'azain·i ya'a'ik·a' person-too died
maya'iAcuazain·i uγwaru' aru'ana his-too he-is being, he belongs to him too

Sometimes *-(a)γain·ia-* is elided to *-(a)γain·*, e. g.:

nū'azain· uγi'va·n·i' I-too will-do

A frequent modal use of *-γain·ia-* is to indicate a somewhat unexpected inference or an emphasis on an idea that might be questioned. It may then be rendered IT TURNED OUT, IT SEEMS, INDEED, JUST. Examples are:

marī'ac·uχwain·i' qan·i'p·in·i' naya'φA²qai'pīγa' that (house) -it-turned-out old-abandoned- house-like seemed
qan·i'am·iχain·i' ari house-their-it-seems it; their house, as it seems
tī'qa'xw'aiva·n·iar'uaen·iχain·i' it looks, indeed, as if I shall go to eat
pu'i'tcatsiχain·i' mice, as it turned out
iwa'n·i'ian·iχain·i' right here I was
toγo'avnywaxain·i uγwa tīra'xuava'm avī'p·iγa' rattlesnakes-it-was-them in-their-midst lay, indeed he lay right among the rattlesnakes

An example of doubly elided *-γain-* is:

a'in'na'γaxain' 'a'ik'zA that-he-indeed said, that is what he *did* say

(b) *-γa'a-* THEN !INDEED. This element, which follows pronominal enclitics, has emphasizing force. It is particularly common in optative and hortatory sentences. Examples are:

ya'a'ixv'n'ixa' 'cai' die-would-I-indeed (for *'cai'* see § 60, 3), would that I might die!

paiy'k'iyuq'v'γwaxa' 'cai' return-hither-momentaneous-would-he-indeed, would that he might come back!

iv'w'i'raγwaxa'a quna'i 'cai' ya'm'ava'aq'wA let-us-then fire it shall-go-get-it

no'q'anixa'a do ye, then, carry me!

iv'w'i'xa' uv'a'nU nam'i'xa'nintcuxwa'a go-ahead-thou-then over-there first- house-make-go; go ahead, then, over there and first make a house

m'w'a'γaya'a'xa'a that one, indeed

(c) *-γwa-* SHOULD, OUGHT. This enclitic is doubtless identical with preterital *-γwa-* (1, b above). When used as modal enclitic of obligation or in mild imperatives, it is followed by enclitic *-noa-* (see e below). Examples are:

(u) *m'w'a'ni'z'kaim'iaγwar'uan'oa* thus- resultative-usitative-should- interrogative-probably; that is not how one should act, be
m'w'a'n'iavim'iaγwar'uan'oa dit. except that *-avi-* TO LIE is substituted for resultative *-k'ai-*; one should not be thus lying

qari'maχwa'n'oa sit-usitative-should-thou-probably, you shall stay
iv'w'i'χwa'γan'oa go-ahead-should-him-probably, go ahead and—him!

(d) *-n'ia-* LIKE. This is one of the most constantly recurring enclitics. Though its primary significance is that of resemblance, it is employed in several fairly distinct nuances of meaning and enters into many idiomatic turns of expression. Its primary meaning is clearly illustrated in:

qni'e'uni' naya'p'a'γup'i'γa' thus-again-like appeared, (it) looked just like before

aχa'niniani naya'φA'z'qa' how-like-I appear? what do I look like?

so'utsuni' like a soldier

mu'an'in'i' like my father (note that *-n'ia-* follows possessive *-n'i-* my, but precedes subjective or objective pronominal enclitic; cf. second example above)

A dubitative tinge is often present, in which case *-nia-* may be rendered IT SEEMS, AS IT WERE, AS THOUGH, e. g.:

paʔqa'ŋuʔi'qanfinia-'q-aŋa naya'vai' kill-passive-having-been-like-it-he
seems, it seems that he has been killed, it looks as though he has
been killed

qu'qwi'va-p-i'gain'nu'aŋwa shoot-future-past-like-him, acted as though
about to shoot him

cina'ŋwavin-i' coyote, it seems

This dubitative tinge may become so deepened as to justify the rendering of *-nia-* as PERHAPS, e. g.:

fi'ma'q-Again-an-iaray 'uŋwa roast-plural subject-perfective-verbal
noun-like-our he, perhaps the one whom we have roasted

u'u'ŋwani'ami fini'aŋqiq-a'aimi he-like-thee tell-to-perfective-thee,
maybe he has been telling you

The idea of resemblance may also shade off into that of limit or emphasis, e. g.:

fina'ava-nfim-anayqwan-ia-q-A bottom-at-being-from-like-its, from its
very bottom

A number of verbs, chiefly such as indicate states of mind, are regularly used with enclitic *-nia-*, e. g. *fiŋwi-* . . . *-nia-* TO HURRY; *i'it-a-mpaq-a-* . . . *-nia-* TO BE TIRED OF; *ai-* . . . *-nia-* TO THINK (lit., TO SAY, AS IT WERE; cf. *ai-* TO SAY); *a-ŋwaiya-* . . . *-nia-* TO BE DIZZY; *an-ia-q-a-* . . . *-nia-* WHAT DOES ONE CARE? (cf. *an-ia-* WHAT? § 44, 1, d); *nantcui-* . . . *-nia-* TO BE FIERCE; *i-ŋwaru'a-q-ai-* . . . *-nia-* TO BE WILLING, READY. Here belong also many verbs of sound or sound-imitation, e. g. *ampaiya-* . . . *-nia-* TO MAKE A NOISE; *so-a-* . . . *-nia-* TO SOUND LIKE FLOWING WATER; *mu-a-* . . . *-nia-* TO BUZZ, HUM; *oq-w'e-* . . . *-nia-* TO SOUND LIKE COUGHING; and numerous sound-verbs with suffixed durative *-ya-* (see § 30, 1). For *-nia-* with numeral stems, see § 36, 1; with certain postpositions, § 50, 4: 7, 35, 39; with certain adverbs, § 60, 1.

Quite unclear is *-n'nia-* following demonstrative *ai-* (§ 43, 5) in cases like:

ai'n'niaŋaxain' a'ik-ʔA that-like (?) -he- indeed said, that is what
he did say

Its glottal stop is unexplained.

(e) *-n'oa-* DUBITATIVE. It is almost impossible to assign any definite significance to this enclitic. It seems to render a statement either more doubtful or less definite in application. It may have an impersonalizing function. It is nearly always combined with either modal *-ɣwa-* (see c above) or with an impersonal *-t'ua-* (§ 29, 14) in its own or the following word. Examples of the former have been already given; see also *-c'uya-ɣwa-n'oa-* (h below). When combined with pronominal enclitics, *-n'oa-* regularly follows except in the case of *-n'i-* I, ME, which it precedes. Examples of *-n'oa-* with *-t'ua-* are:

pa'it'ua(i)ɣin'oani somebody calls me
uwa'n'untcan'qa sots'ɣutu'a over-there-past-indefinite peep-somebody,
 somebody peeped over there
sa'a'ɣqituava-n'ua'ɣanoA make-mush-for-somebody-will-him-indefinite,
 somebody will make mush for him; mush will be made for him
"mpa'i'campaminu' tona't'w'α'va' no-matter-thee-indefinite strike-somebody-shall, I don't care if you are struck

An example of *-n'oa-* unaccompanied by either *-ɣwa-* or impersonal *-t'ua-* is:

m'α'nintcu' ti'qa'n'oa thus-interrogative eat-indefinite? that is not how to eat! (cf. f below)

(f) *-ru'a-* (*-tcu'a-*, *-ntcu'a-*) INTERROGATIVE. Examples of interrogative *-ru'a-* are:

tona'va-n'iar'oa'ɣa'ɣA will he punch him?
iwi'yiro'a art thou drinking?
qani'va'atcaro'a'ɣaφi did he (arrive) at his own house?
qatcu'ru'ax'qa'a nanqa'ɣwa'a not-interrogative-it-thou hear-negative?
 do you not hear it?
taɣwa'ru'a'ɣ aro''a tooth-interrogative-his it-is? is it his tooth?

Examples of interrogative *-tcu'a-* (used after *i*) are:

sari'tatcu' aro''a is it a dog?
ov'tcu'a'ɣ ar aro''ana'ɣA stick-interrogative-his it his-being? is it his stick

Interrogative *-ntcu'a-* (used after *i* preceded by nasal, also after demonstrative *ai-*) is illustrated in:

imi'ntcu''a tūmpa'ɣa' thou-interrogative mouth-have? have you a mouth?
a'intcu'an a'ik'zA that-interrogative-I said? did I say so?

Sometimes the interrogative is used merely rhetorically, implying an inference, e. g.:

um^wa'riar'u(w)a'ŋa nē'nu a'ɣawantɕŋqim^wʔ those (inanim. obj.)-interrogative-he me hide-from-usitative? so it is those (clothes) that he has been hiding from me!

wa(a'i)yumiŋ-aitcuŋw have two been (here)? it looks as though two have been here!

pu(w)a'ru'(w)a(i)yuru'ani medicine-become-present-interrogative-I? I must be getting to be a medicine-man!

Very frequently the interrogative is employed as an ironical method of stating the negative, e. g.:

um^wa'niʔkaimiaɣwar'ono thus-resultative-usitative-should-interrogative-indefinite? should one act thus? that is not how to do!

nē'nuaro'a sA'pi'ɣawa-ni me-interrogative-thou overcome-shall-me! you can't overcome me!

a'intcu'a-ŋ 'a'imi that-interrogative-he say-usitative? that is not what he really means!

The interrogative frequently combines with a following *-ɣain-ia-* (see a above) in the meaning of IT SEEMS THAT. The enclitic *-n-ia-* (see d above) may be introduced between the two enclitics. Pronominal elements may separate the interrogative (or following *-n-ia-*) from *-ɣain-ia-*. Examples are:

puar'r'uava-r'on-ɣain-i' medicine-become-shall-interrogative-I-apparently? it looks as though I shall become a medicine-man

ya'a'ik-ai-p-i'ɣaitcwa-ŋaxain-i' die-perfective-past-interrogative-he-apparently? he seems to have died (long ago)

tī'q'aq-ait-ua(i)yir'uan-uaxain-i' eat-perfective-impersonal-present-interrogative-indefinite-apparently? it seems that somebody has been eating

nuŋui'RUqwat-uɣwara'r'uən-i(y)ən-ɣain-i' person-under-to-shall-interrogative-like-I-apparently? it seems that I shall go under the person, i.e. be beaten

(g) *-rua-* (*-tcua-*, *-ntcua-*) *-r'o-n-ia-* (also *-ntua-r'o-n-ia-*) LIKE. The element *-rua-* (*-tcua-*, *-ntcua-*; *-ntua-*) has not been found alone, but only compounded with interrogative *-r'o-* + enclitic *-n-ia-*. This compound enclitic has been found only with nouns. It follows possessive pronominal enclitics. Examples are:

w'a'p'untuar'on'i' like a penis

ganu'nticuar'on'i' like a house

w'a'(i)ya'haruar'on'i' like his penis (obj.)

(h) *-c'uya-γwa-n'oa-* WOULD THAT! The element *-c'uya-* (*-c'ia-*, *-c'ia-*) has not been found alone, but only compounded with modal *-γwa-* (see c above) and generally *-n'oa-* (see e above). Pronominal enclitics come between the *-γwa-* and the *-n'oa-*, except, as usual, *-n'i-* I, ME, which follows *-n'oa-*. Examples are:

qu'qwi't'u'ac'uyaywa'anoA shoot-impersonal-would that!-him-indefinite, I wish he would get shot!

qu'qwi't'u'ac'u'waraminoA I wish we two (inclus.) would get shot!

qu'qwi't'u'ac'u'wanoani would that I might get shot!

In this sense *-c'uya-γwa-n'oa-* is often attached to the verbal irrealis *-γo-p'u-*, *-γgo-p'u-* (see § 33, 1), e. g.:

tu'pu'n'iyu'puc'iaγwo(')n'o' wake-might-would that!-thou-indefinite, would that you might wake up!

fi'na'qwantia'cuyaxwon'o' *p'impi'n'ni'kaiγuγgo-p'u'cuyaxwon'o'* upward-being-objective-would that!-indefinite look (plur.)- momentaneous-might-would that!-indefinite, would that (they) might look up this way!

With *impi-* WHAT (see § 44, 1, c), *-c'uya-γwa-n'oa-* or, more briefly, *-c'uya-γwa-* adds a flavor of unreality: WHAT PRAY! Examples are:

impi'mA'ciaγwan'qa what-with-would that!-indefinite; with what, pray, is one (to cut it up)? (i. e. there is no knife handy)

impi'A'ciaγwa'ηA ti'qa'va' what-objective-would that!-he eat-shall? what, pray, will he eat? (i. e. there is no food to give him)

(i) *-c'a'a-* AND, BUT; THEN! This element is used partly as a connective or contrastive (AND, BUT), partly as an emphasizing particle (THEN!). In the latter use it is frequently appended to *iw'w'i-*, the hortatory adverb. Examples are:

nā'ca'a but I; I, for my part

maηa'c'a'a but that one

atē'ca'a and this

iw'w'i'ca'a go ahead, then!

iw'w'i'ca'aywaxa'a pai'xwa'aiηwA go-ahead-thou-pray-him-then call-go-after-him! go ahead, then, go and call upon him!

(j) *-c'ampa-* ONLY, EXCEPT, BUT. The primary disjunctive significance of *-c'ampa-* is exemplified in:

nĩ'c'ampa only I, except me
m^wa'i'campa^aη 'aik^zA that-only- he says, that is all he says
'i'nicampan oni in-this-way-only-me do-so! enough of this to me!
imi'c'ampa thou alone, thou thyself!
mañ'c'ampa piya'ipūya' that-only was left

Its use as disjunctive connective (BUT) is illustrated in:
o'tca'campanηwa break-wind-preterit-but-he, but he broke wind

The primary idea of ONLY shades off in idiomatic usage to other modal nuances, e. g.:

'i'nimiAcampanim(w)I in-this-way-travel (plur.)-only-we (excl.),
 we ALWAYS do so when traveling
qarĩ'c'ampa sit-only, JUST stay
ma(·)va'campa^aηA there-only-he, RIGHT there he
a'ik^zcampan^aani say-only-like-I, I think so (*ai-* . . . *ni-a-* TO THINK,
 see d above)
qĩ'i'campani bite-only-me! EVEN so bite me
niηw'RUqwat^au'ac'ampañηwa person-under-to-plural-nominal-only-our (incl.); our being beaten, IT WOULD SEEM

For its use with certain independent adverbs, see § 60, 2, a and d. Concessive significance (ALTHOUGH) is exemplified in:

qu'qwi'va ts'sampa shoot-shall-gerund only, though being about to shoot
fiw'w'ηUqwat^au'ac'ampañ 'oqi' ask-plural-impersonal-only-me (for 'oqi'
 see § 60, 3), even if they ask about me
(u)ma'iwitccampa say-that-always-being-only, though (he) is wont to say that

For regular concessive clauses in *-kai-c'ampa-*, *-yu-c'ampa-* (*-ηqu-c'ampa-*), *-yu-c'ampa-*, see § 55, 1, b, c, e).

(k) *-c'u-* ALSO, AGAIN, SAME. Etymologically this enclitic may be a reduced form of *cu-* ONE. Examples of *-c'u-* in its primary significance are:

qu'qwi'p^aūyaic^aU shot again
unĩ'c'un^ai' thus-again-like, just as before
mava^a-(ai)yuc^aU from that same place
nontsi'quc^aU fly off again

Its meaning frequently shades off into that of JUST, ONLY (this goes well with its suggested etymology), e. g.:

tu(w)α'tsɨwac'uwɔA only his sons

marɨ'c-cu' 'anɨ'k-arɨi' that (inan.)- only do-sits, that alone do-sits,
that alone is thus sitting

nɨ'nuacU me-just, myself

It is regularly used with *cv*- ONE (e. g. *cv'q'ucutcanɨ* one-objective-just-preterit-I; see § 59, 1), with certain adverbs (e. g. *wɨ't-uc-U* LONG AGO; *na'a'c-U* SEPARATELY; *a'wɨ'ic-U* ENOUGH; see § 60, 2), and very commonly with independent third personal and reflexive pronouns (see § 39, 1; § 46). For its employment with subordinating verbal suffixes (*-kai-*, *-ku-*), see § 55, 1, b, e. It has largely lost its individuality with personal pronouns, as indicated by its double employment in forms like *marɨ'c-cu'* above, i. e. *marɨ'c-u-*.

(1) *-c-uru'u-* NOR CAN. It was not found possible to elucidate this infrequently occurring enclitic satisfactorily. It is evidently compounded of *-c-u-* (see k above); perhaps *-ru'u-* was misheard for interrogative *-ru'a-*. Examples are:

imɨ'Acuru'unɨ thee-neither-I, neither (will) I (act thus to) you

nɨ'nuac:Ucuru' awa'ɨwɨtuɨwani me-just-neither-thou it-into-me, nor
could you (put) me into it

(m) *-y'a-* QUOTATIVE. Examples are:

ya'a'ɨya'a die-quotative; (he) died, it is said

ya'a'ɨy'a-mɨ die-quotative-they; they died, it is said

maɨa'c:uya' ya'a'ɨva-n'i he-quotative die-future; he will die, they say

uw'a'cuya'a tɨŋqa'nɨɨa(i)yaφi there-again-quotative cave-objective-
own; in that same cave of his, it is said

(n) *-'* DUBITATIVE. This element, which follows pronominal enclitics, is often best translated PERHAPS, particularly when accompanied, in the same or following word, by the dubitative verbal suffix *-vɨ-*, *-mpɨ-* (see § 33, 2). It is also used in rhetorical questions. Examples are:

ɨnɨ'ɨtsɨwα' ɨvɨ'nɨi' tɨ'tcu'paɨumpɨ' then-he-perhaps here-being-
objective fall-down-might; then, perhaps, he fell down around here
uw'a'ɨ'ɨwa' qarɨ'vɨ' there-he-perhaps sit-might, perhaps he lives there
'i'vɨ'ntuɨwac:ampa'q-wα' uru'avɨ' this-at-to-only-it-perhaps be-
might, perhaps it is right up to here

maa'iva-m'p'i'hwaram'i' find-shall-might-he-us 2 (incl.)- perhaps, he might find us two
axa'n-i'xaini pa'qa'xa.in-i' how-subordinate-me kill-subordinate-me-perhaps? why act thus to kill me?
impi'aywi'fiyu'p'in-uk-arizaim'i' what-you (plur.) food-look-for-sit-subordinate-dual-perhaps? what (are) you two (doing) looking for something to eat?

It is this enclitic, perhaps, which appears in certain expressions that are difficult to analyze:

ma'ip-i(y)a'a so-say-passive participle-objective-perhaps, (it) was only said so
cu(w)a'r'pi(y)a'a be-glad-passive participle-objective-perhaps, (it) was meant for welcome words

(o) *-aq-a-* imperative particle. This element will be referred to again when the imperative is discussed (§ 52).

(p) *-ya-* dual-plural subject particle in imperatives. This also will be taken up under imperatives (§ 52).

(3) NOT EASILY CLASSIFIABLE ENCLITICS. Two or three elements not easily classified and, in part, of doubtful significance, may be conveniently grouped here.

(a) *-a-*, *-a-*. I have been quite unable to determine what either of these enclitics indicates. They precede pronominal enclitics, but follow certain other enclitic elements (e. g. *-tea-*, see 1, a above; *-c-u-*, see 2, k above). They are probably found in *-a-yain-ia-* (2, a) and *-ywa'-a-* (1, b), as already suggested. Examples are:

A'p'i'ina-c-uan yni'k-#A sleep-noun-again-? - I do, I do nothing but sleep (for idiomatic use of *-na-c-u-*, see § 62)
qatcu'an not -? - I, I did not

qatcu'a-nani p'nu'wax'a not -?- him - I see- negative, I did not see him
iva'n-i'ian-i'xain-i' this-at-be (§ 26, 2, c) -?- I-just, right here I was
(-a-n-i-xain-i') is enclitic correspondent of independent *ni'-axain-i'*; see 2, a above)

fiyu'p'in-in'nuaro'a food-look-for-continuative -?- interrogative-thou? are you looking for something to eat?

'i-c'u(w)ani (< *'i-c-u'-a-ni*) long-ago-?-I

nada'c-u'an a'ik-#A yaza'xa' just-for-fun -?- I say crying, I cry just for fun

ivä'nturwatca'anī pA²ga'ŋ'uŋwa this-at-to-preterit- ? - I kill-him, I killed him at this place

Such examples as the second, third, and fourth suggest a preterital value for these troublesome elements, but this is rendered very doubtful by the occurrence of *-tca'-a-* and *-ŋwa'-a-* and of such forms as *qatcu'-tca-nī* NOT-PRETERIT- I.

(b) *-p'itsu-* DEAR. This is merely a compound suffix: *-p'ī-* (§ 24, 1, d) + diminutive *-tsu-* (§ 35) or *-p'itsu-* (§ 24, 1, g). It seems to be preceded by an accessory '. It is listed as an enclitic here because it may follow possessive pronominal enclitics, e. g.:

pa'a'nipūts aunt (*paa-*) -my-dear, my auntie

moa'n'i'puts my (dear) father (cf. *moa'nī* my father)

piya'n'i'puts my (dear) mother (more affectionate than *piya'nī* my mother)

(4) ORDER OF ENCLITIC ELEMENTS. The enclitics follow one another in a rather definitely prescribed order. The following scheme is believed to be substantially correct:

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
<i>-cu-</i>	<i>-y'a-</i>	<i>-(n)tca-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>-ru'a-</i>	<i>-n ia-</i>	pronoun	<i>-n oa-</i>	<i>-ŋa'a-</i>
(2, k)	(2, m)	(1, a)	<i>-a-</i>	(2, f)	(2, d)		(2, e)	(2, b)
	<i>-c uya-</i>	<i>-ŋwa-</i>	(3, a)	<i>-ya-</i>		<i>-aq-a-</i>		<i>-ŋain ia-</i>
	(2, h)	(1, b;	<i>-rua-</i>	(2, p)		(2, o)		(2, a)
		2, c)	<i>-ntua-</i>					<i>-j</i> (2, n)
			(2, g)					<i>-p'itsu-</i>
								(3, b)

There are a few exceptions to this rule of order, no doubt, but only a few. By "pronoun" is meant subjective and objective enclitic pronominal elements, also possessive *-vī-* ONE'S OWN (§ 40, 4); other possessive pronominal enclitics are, with certain enclitics, attached directly to the noun (or noun + derivative suffixes), with others to the enclitic (e. g. interrogative *-r'ua-*). The order of pronominal enclitics among themselves will be dealt with later (§ 41, 1). If position 7 is occupied by *-n i-* I, ME, it follows position 8 (see 2, e above).

§ § 20-22. PREFIXES.

§ 20. Adverbial prefixes.

Most of the adverbial prefixes are prefixed to verb and adjective-verb forms, one or two to other parts of speech. In origin they are

doubtless all stems which, once independent, have become restricted in usage to composition. In some cases, indeed, a plausible connection can be established with independent stems.

(1) *a'-s* QUIETLY, GRADUALLY:

a'tca'aik'a' to hold quietly, keep quiet
a'xari' sits quietly
a'ay'a' gradually dies
a'ɣwa'tsɨ'umɨ gradually catch up with them

(2) *i'-s* BEFOREHAND, READILY:

i't-i'qai' eats beforehand, willingly; is ready to eat
i'ik-A'qari' to run away beforehand
i'umik-ɛqai'piɣa' got ready, were ready
i'ɨɣwaru'A'qantɨn-i' who is willing, ready
i'pɔtsɨn'iɛkaini I (am) ready to start off

(3) *i'-s* IN VAIN:

i'p'in-in'ni' looks around in vain

(4) *nam-i'-s* FIRST:

nam-i'ivim-i' always drinks first
nam-i'v'aip-iɣa' (< *nam-i'-y'ai-*) died first
nam-o'-uɔ'it-u'piɣa' (< *nam-i'-uɔ'it-u-*) sang the first song
nam-i'v'azai' goes first
nam-i'xaxa'n-aɔ u'ma first-sing-noun-own it-with, with his first song

This element is sometimes also found with primary nouns, e. g.:
nam-u'ruwatsɨni first-son-little-my, my first-born son

(5) *nan-i'-s* SEPARATELY (cf. independent adverb *nan-i'c-u* SEPARATELY, § 60, 2, d):

nan-i'p'aaita separately-three-times, three each (see Numerals)
nan-i't-i'qaq'ai' (they) eat separately

(6) *ɔn-ɔ'-s* EARLY, JUST PAST:

ɔnɔ't-A'ciangqu early-dawn-when, very early in the morning
ɔnɔ't-uɣuar'uɨnti early-night-become-participle, early in the night
ɔnɔ't'avai' early-day-present, (it) is early in the day
ɔn-ɔ'p'itci early-arrive, to have just arrived
ɔnɔ't-ɔvun'niɣa' when just waking up (assimilated from *-tuɣun'ni-*)

(7) *paï-n* PERFECTLY, ALTOGETHER (perhaps identical with adjective-verb *paï-n* TO BE SMOOTH):

paï'mpa-n'nəɣanti perfectly hollow (used of park or valley)

paï'mpə-t-ɔʷqwarī perfectly spherical

paï'ntəɣ(ə)imv'quntarī perfectly-just-straight (see 15 below)

paï'yua-χanti perfectly-plain-being, level desert with little or no vegetation

Probably identical with this is *pa-* ENTIRELY (for *a* < *ai* see § 4, 1) in:

pa'm-anun-i' entirely-all, every single one

pa'tsɨŋqoŋqo'o entirely destroyed (as of field trampled down by people)

(8) *pi-s* BACK (cf. instrumental *pi-s* below; § 21, 3):

pi'vīnuk-a' to look back

(9) *pim-i-* BACK AND FORTH (cf. no. 8 above; instrumental *pi-s*; and independent *pimi't-ux-wA* BACKWARD, § 60, 2, b):

pim-i'ŋwī'uk-ai' (they) dance back and forth

(10) *pīŋqa-s* TO KEEP ON -ING:

pīŋqa'ɾɪqa'a keep on eating!

pīŋqa'avip-īya' kept lying down

pīŋqa'maip-īya' kept on saying

pīŋqa'ampaxai' keeps on talking

pīŋqa'm-a(·)n-iyīni I do so very (fast)

pīŋqa'vaai-p-īya'aik-wA kept calling it

pīŋqa'ŋwa'ayū' keeps shouting

(11) *cv-s* VERY (probably identical with numeral stem *cv-* ONE):

cv-a'iyīi' is very good, feels very well

sv'p-a'anti very high

cv-MV²qunta'muap-īya' went right ahead

su'tcaχip-A very near

(12) *cu(w)a-s* NEARLY:

cu-a'φA²qaŋuntsan-i' nearly-kill-preterit-me-thou, you nearly killed me

cuwa'ŋwA'tēp-īya'aimi nearly caught up with them

cu-a'ɾəɣMV²quntarī nearly straight

cūwa'RUP^wik:Upīγa' were nearly all gone, used up
cūa'ruγwip:īγa' (fire) was nearly out
cūwa'təγmΛ'cūηwγU nearly-ten, nine

This element is probably identical with *cūwa-s* in:
cūwa'p'itci' wakes up (lit., nearly-arrives)

(13) *ta-n* FAR; used only, so far as known, in *tanfi'v^wai-* FAR WEST
 (cf. *fi^vai-* DOWN, WEST):

tanfi'v^waip'a' in a far-western land
tanfi'v^waiw^wiafi far-western songs

(14) *fi-n* WELL, THOROUGHLY:

fi'ntəγq:wipīγa' ran well, was on a dead run
fi'nti^zqai' eats well, eats a grand feast
fi''ampayai' talks well, has a good talk
fi'ηwa'aηu' gives a good shout

(15) *təγ(o)i-s*, *təγ(w)i-s*, more rarely *təγ-s* JUST, RIGHT, IN MIDST OF.
 This prefix is very common and occurs freely with all parts of speech.
 Examples are:

təγo'it'avai' (it) is mid-day
təγo'n^wi^vai'fīm^win'** just-I-comparable-being-plural-like, equal to
 me (in strength) (*təγo'n^wi-* < *təγo'in^wi-*)
təγo'MU'quntəηqwaip:īγa' went right straight ahead
təγo'ip'a'antī just high (enough)
təγo'it'i'qai' is right in eating, is about half through eating
təγi'm^wava'ana right above that
təγ^wi'əηaruq-wΛ right under him
təγo'ihqwyūmpa ηqunī right on the center of my head

§ 21. Instrumental prefixes.

Under this term are included a considerable number of elements of prevaillingly instrumental significance. They are used chiefly with verb forms, but not exclusively. In nouns they may in part be employed non-instrumentally, nor is the properly instrumental function always apparent in verb forms. Their origin is largely obscure, but certain analogies suggest strongly that they are on the whole specialized forms of incorporated nouns with instrumental function (see § 18, 2, f, α); to some extent they may be related to verb stems.

(1) *ma-s* (*man-* before *tc*, *ts*) HAND. This prefix is clearly related to, but not directly derived from, independent *ma'o-s* HAND. It is found in one form or other in all Uto-Aztekan dialects (e. g. Tübatulabal independent *ma-*; Fernandino, Luiseño *-ma*; Tarahumare, Pima *ma-*; Nahuatl *ma-* in compounds and as instrumental prefix). It is very common as instrumental verb prefix, many verbs not occurring without it. Its great age is indicated by the presence of verbs in *ma-ŋw-*, spirantized from *ma-m-*. Instrumental (in part apparently objective) examples of verb forms are:

- mavi'tcA²qinqi* to crush with one's hand
mayu'x'ika' to point at
mavi'tsiγc' claps (his) hands
may'a'i' tests by feeling
mayu'tcu'i' feels around, picks at (ear, tooth, arm-pit)
mayu'(w)ai' rubs with (his) hand
mayu'm'v²kwinqi to nudge with one's finger
marinqa- to create
mayari- to protect
ma(i)yu'n-aq'ai(y)anA to have arms around his neck
maxo'p-in'NA to break (trans.)
ma'a'ip-a' to stretch out one's hands palm up
ma'nuk-I to stick one's hand in (water)
manwi'n'tcinqianA roll him over (< *ma-* + *mün'ci-* to turn)
manwi'una-ŋqip'iya' tore out of ground with hands (cf. *tam-i'una-ŋqi* to dig out by scraping or poking with foot)
mao'p-A²qa-ŋqi to make a hole by sticking one's hand into
naŋwa'(i)yunNA²qa'aimi they two hold arms around each other's necks (< *na-ma-*; see § 22, 1)
mantca'va.i' waves (his) hand
mantca'ŋqip'iyaiyaq-A reached for it

A few verbs have *ma-s*, e. g.:

- MA'pi'k-I* to touch with one's hand
MA'tca'i'ayqip'iya'aik-wA reached for it
MA'ci'q'ua(i)yini my hands are cold
MA'cu'ŋwi- ten (i. e. hands-completed?)

Examples of *ma-s* and *man-* (before *tc*, *ts*) in noun compounds are:

- MA'ci'uφI* finger
MA'pa'(i)ya-vuφI hand-surface, palm

mantca'q-oiφI flesh from elbow to wrist
mantci'vūφI bone from elbow to wrist

(2) *mu-s* (*mun-* before *tc, ts*) NOSE (cf. independent *muw-i-s* NOSE).
 Verb examples are:

muw'a'ntui' shakes head from side to side (like a horse)
mur'na to strike with one's nose
moγo'ina'i' takes off with (his) nose
muntca'aik'a' to hold with one's nose
muntca'ru'i' holds up (his) nose in the air

mu-s is found in noun compounds, e. g.:

MU'p^wi'k-iφI nasal mucus

(3) *pi-s* BUTTOCKS, REAR (for *pi-* as independent stem cf. *pim'-tux-wA* BACKWARD, § 60, 2, b). Verb examples are:

pi'tcu'q-wn'NA to crush with one's buttocks, by sitting on
pi'ti'ηwai' closes by pushing with (his) buttocks
pi'ko'i'nai' lets (his) trousers down (*-qoi'na-* to remove an article of clothing)
pi^zki'k-in-i' to sound like a slap on the buttocks (face, or other soft part)

Examples of *pi-s* in noun compounds are:

pi'tw'əmphi rump-fat
pina's-iχani my rear-cleft, my crotch

(4) *pi-s*, *pu-s* EYE (cf. independent *pu'i-s* EYE):

pi'ti'na(i)yiηA follows him with (his) eye
pu'ca'γaip-iγaiηA looked for him

This is an uncommon prefix. A nominal example is:

pu'ti'ηqanuφi eye-cave, superciliary ridge

(5) *qi-s* TEETH (cf. perhaps verb-stem *qi'i-* TO BITE):

qi'tci'tcuχw' grinds, gnashes (his) teeth
qi'tco'χw'a.i' chews
qinu'p-uχwi' (mouse) gnaws
qiu'ηwqi' hangs by (his) teeth

qī'qa'utcai' breaks (them) in (his) mouth, by grinding with (his) teeth

qī'tcv'i' squeezes between (his) teeth

qī'ca'ra-q-aip'īya' (his) mouth remained open

(6) *ta-s* FOOT (cf. perhaps verb-stem *taya-* TO KICK). Verbal examples of this very common prefix are:

tA'pu'q'wi- to jump

tA'qu'q'wi- to foot-shoot, to kick one's feet out into the air

ta'q'ī- to feel with one's foot

taya'nunungu- to have one's feet dangling

tA'qwi'pa- to stumble

tan'wī'tcγu- to keep time by tapping with one's foot

ta'ora- to dig a hole with the foot

tA'tcu'n'na- to scratch around with claws

tA'ci'n'aiyīni my feet burn from cold

tA'qo'itcai' takes off (his) footwear

taa'in'i' touches with the feet

tama'xa-i' tests (its) depth with the foot

nīv'a'RA'tōn'NI'fīḡwawa'pūya' snow-foot-shake-make-noise-past, made a noise of stamping snow off (his) feet

Noun compounds with *ta-s* are, e. g.:

tan'a's'īγαφi foot-cleft, split in hoof, spaces between toes

tA'pa'ia'φī sole (of moccasin)

tA'qu'c'i top piece stitched on to upper of moccasin

(7) *ta-s* FIST (cf. perhaps verb-stem *tōna-* TO PUNCH):

tō'tca'ro'i' shakes (his) fist (at)

tō'pa'tA'qīḡqī to burst (trans.) by punching

tō'fī'ḡwai' closes up (a hole) by punching (his) fist (against it)

tō'pa'raiva'n'ia'm'īni I shall knock them down with (my) fist

tōya'u'ḡwai' pushes in with (his) fist

(8) *tcō-s* HEAD (survival of old Uto-Aztekan stem for HEAD, cf. Nahuatl *tzon-tili*):

tcō'pa'ntui' shakes (his) head

tcōmō'nfīγu' shakes (his) head

tcō'qo'q'ōin'v'i' sounds like a noise of punching hard on head (or face)

As first element in noun compounds it occurs, e. g., in:

tcō'pu'k'v- brains

(9) *tsu*^{-s} WITH THE POINT OF A LONG OBJECT, STICK. This is a very frequent instrumental prefix. Examples are:

- tsu*^m*n*'*r*'*cai*' turns (meat put to roast on red-hot ashes) with a stick
ts'*tsa*'*η**ki*'*aq*'*a*' to hold on a pole
ts'*qu*'*r*'*ui*' pokes in a hole with the point of a stick
ts'*tu*'*n*'*nai*' braces (house, tree) with a pole
ts'*po*'*i*' tries to remove (splinter from flesh) by prying out with a point (e. g. of needle)
*tsu*ⁿ*i*'*ntciki**η**q**i*' to shake with the end of a stick
*tsu**η**wi*'*n*'*aiva*'*η**A* will throw him (in) with a stick
*tsu**η**wi*'*η**q**i*' to knock down with a stick
ts'*k**a*'*vinai*' cuts (with a knife)

(10) *wi*^{-s} WITH THE LENGTH OF A LONG OBJECT, STICK. The applicability of the primary meaning of this prefix is sometimes obscured. Examples of its use are:

- wi*'*po*'*n*'*nai*' drums
*wi*ⁿ*n*'*ru**xwi*' moves a stick back and forth on the notched rasp
wi'*q**o*'*p*'*i**n*'*NA* to break against the edge of something
wi'*q**a*'*vit**cai*' cuts several objects
wi'*pa*'*rai*' knocks (them) down by slashing with a stick
wi'*p**i*'*t*'*k**u**η**U**p**i*'*γ**a*' grazed (it) with (his) wing
wi'*q**a*'*m*'*mu*- to cover
wi'*t**o*'*n*'*n**o*'*i*' shakes (e. g. a blanket)
*na**η**q**a*'*va**η**wi*'*p**ant**u*'*γ**u**γ**i**n**i* ear-instrumental-shake-iterative-present-I,
 I shake my ears

A few examples of *wi*-, before *y*, may contain another form of this element:

- wi**γ**u*'*m*'*MU*²*q**u**η**q**i*' to hit slightly (as with a willow switch) on the edge (cf. *mayu*'*m*'*MU*²*k**u**η**q**i*' to nudge, poke with the finger)
wi'*y**a*'*η**q**i*'*na*- to cut notches, *wi*'*y**a*'*η**q**i*'*na*-*q*'*ai*- to have notches cut into (itself)

(11) *ta*^{-s} BY THROWING, WITH A STONE (cf. perhaps verb-stem *tavi*- TO THROW A STONE). Externally it is identical with *ta*^{-s} FOOT (see 6 above). Examples are:

- tan*'*i*'*ntciki**η**q**i*' to shake by throwing an object at (it)
tA'*pa*'*rai*' knocks (them) down with stones
*ta**η**wi*'*η**q**i*' to knock (it) down with a rock

tA'ci'n'i^zqava-raywa let us all play the ring-and-pin game
tA'qa'.iyuqwi- to split in two by hitting on a stone
yu'o'RA'qap'in'NA leg-instrumental-break, to break a leg by throwing a stone at (it)

Cf. also, as example of a noun compound:

tA'ci'qwa^zmpī coarse gravel (cf. *ci^zwa'mpī* gravel)

(12) *qu^z* FIRE (cf. independent noun stem *qun-a-* FIRE; also independent Shoshonean **ku-*, e. g. Tübatulabal *gu-t*, Cahuilla *ku-t*):

qumu'ntuarīpīya' heated stones by putting them on the fire
qu'tu'n-yi' drills for fire
qu'pa'ra-xai' pops in the fire
qu'tsi'k-iyīni I build a fire
qona'yoxwai' water boils
qu'tsi'ai' roasts on a spit
qoq'wawdeayī' breaks it in half by burning over the fire (song form)

(13) *cī^z* COLD (survival of Uto-Aztekan stem **se-*, cf. Nahuatl *ce-ti*). This element is not freely used, but occurs only in certain stereotyped forms, e. g.:

cī'pū'rai' (object) is cold
cī'pa'i'aiyīni I feel cold (lit., I die of cold; *cīp-a-* as incorporated noun has not been otherwise found)
cī'pī'xurutca-q-aip-īyain-i' felt as though a cold breeze were in his head
cī'tu'i' (it) is cold weather
cī'pū'n-ū-ain-i' (it is) draughty, chilly
MA'ci'q'aiyīni my hands are cold

(14) *ta^z* SUN, HEAT (cf. independent *tava-* SUN, DAY). This element also occurs only in certain stereotyped forms:

taro'i' (it) is hot weather (cf. *cī-t-u'i-* above)
tA'cī'a^z to be dawn
tA'cī'p-a^z to be evening

Possibly also:

tavai- to set (brush) on fire
tavac-u- to dry in the sun

(15) *tea^z*. This prefix is fairly common and is clearly instrumental in force, as shown, e. g., by its alternation with other instrumental

prefixes (e. g. *ma-s*, *ta-s*, *tsi-s*). Its precise force, however, is far from clear. Perhaps it denotes indefinite instrumentality. In some cases it seems to refer, like *ma-*, to the HAND. Examples are:

teA'pa'ntui' shakes (with the hand) (cf. *tA'pa'ntu-* to shake with the feet)

teq'u'wa.i' scratches (with the hand) (cf. *tq'u'wa.i'* scratches with the foot)

teA'qo'itcai' takes off clothes (cf. *maryo'itcai'* takes off gloves, bracelets, armlets)

tca'mp'in'na- to raise so as to uncover (*tca-i'mp'in'na-*) (cf. *ma'i-mp'in'a-ŋq'i-* to raise covering from)

teA'pa'q'in'NA to tear into two pieces; *teA'pa'γ(a)itca-* to tear to pieces (cf. *tō'pa'γitca-* to rip open in several places; *wii'ŋw'i'paq'in'NA* knife-edge-tear-momentaneous-causative, to rip open with a knife)

tean-o'ŋqwa-ŋqiva-n-i' will pull (feathers, hairs) out by force

teA'pu'ruχwi' scatters (trans.), sows (seeds)

teA'pi'nukinup'γain-i' (it) appeared like open, darkness cleared up

(16) *ɔ-*, assimilated *u-* ROUND OBJECT, HOLE (*ɔ-s* before momentaneous forms, *ɔ-s* before durative forms). This element occurs only in a few stereotyped forms:

ɔ'pa'q-i- to be (one-)holed, participle *ɔ'pa'q(a)itci'* with a hole, *ɔw'a'xutcai-* to have holes (derivatives from *-paq-i-*, *-paγ-i-* to tear, see under *tca-* above)

u'pu'q-wi- to bounce (like a ball) (cf. *tA'pu'q-wi-* to jump).

This element is not a true instrumental, but rather a stereotyped objective classifier. It may, indeed, be used with true instrumental prefixes, e. g. *mas'pA'xqa-ŋq'i-* TO MAKE A HOLE BY STICKING ONE'S HAND INTO.

A few verbs in *u-s* referring to SLEEP OR CLOSING ONE'S EYES may possibly contain this element (ROUND OPENING metaphorically > EYE?):

u'tu'c-uŋw'i'- to cause to go to sleep (cf. *tu'cu'ŋ-wi-* to exercise power upon, to cause to do as one wishes)

u'teu'm'mu- to have one's eye's closed, *u'teu'm'ma-* to close one's eyes

It is just as possible, however, that this *u-s* is assimilated from an *i-s* that appears also in *it-i'ŋ'wa-ampa-γa-* TO TALK IN ONE'S SLEEP.

(17) *pa-s* WATER. This is nothing but the incorporated noun stem *pa-s*, *pa-s* WATER used instrumentally. It is listed here as a

prefix because it occurs in a number of verbs whose bare stems are not found in use without it:

patca'q-wa- to get wet, *patca'q-wi-* to be wet

pari'yi- to wash (trans.), *nava'riyi-* to wash oneself

patca'q-iŋwa- to water, irrigate

Less probably also:

nava'q-i- to bathe (intrans.) (non-reflexive *-paq-i-* not found)

The instrumental prefixes are much more closely connected with the verb stem proper than any other elements preceding the stem, e. g. adverbial prefixes, reflexive *na-* (see § 22, 1), or incorporated nouns. An instrumental prefix comes nearest the stem. Owing to this close connection, the psychological analysis becomes somewhat obscured at times, so that the notion of instrumentality may be repeated in a preceding incorporated noun, e. g. *wii'-ŋwi'paq-in'NA* TO RIP OPEN WITH A KNIFE (contains both instrumental incorporated noun *wii-* KNIFE and instrumental prefix *-ŋwi-* < *-wi-* WITH THE BLADE OF A LONG OBJECT). Sometimes an instrumental prefix is so closely identified with the stem that it may be preceded by another instrumental prefix, e. g. *MA'pi'k-i-* TO TOUCH (that *ma-* is a prefix is indicated by parallel *ta'pi'k-i-* TO TOUCH WITH THE FOOT): *wima'-pik-i-* TO TOUCH WITH THE EDGE OF A STICK, *tama'pik-i-* TO TOUCH WITH THE FIST.

§ 22. Reflexive and reciprocal prefixes.

(1) *na-* SELF, EACH OTHER (*nan-* before *tc*, *ts*). Properly speaking, forms in *na-* are nothing but compounds of reflexive pronominal stem *na-* (for independent *na-* with postpositions, see § 46) and verb-stem or noun-stem (for type of compound see § 18, 2, c; 1, i). The element *na-* is so frequently and idiomatically used, however, that it seems advisable to treat it as a prefix.

Its primary significance is reflexive, e. g.:

<i>pīn-i-</i>	to see	<i>navi'ntwik-ai(y)anant</i>	he let me see himself
<i>uŋwai-</i>	to hang	<i>nqu'waip-īya'</i>	hung (him)self
<i>a-ŋa-ru-</i>	to make a piñon jay	<i>na'a'-aŋaRUququumpa'</i>	shall turn (them)selves into piñon jays
<i>sa'a-</i>	to boil	<i>NA'sa'ai'</i>	boils (him)self, takes a sweat-bath
<i>pariχi-</i>	to wash (trans.)	<i>nava'riχi'</i>	washes (him)self

Many verbs in *na-* have an indirect reflexive or mediopassive significance. Not infrequently the stem is not in use without the prefixed *na-*. Examples are:

<i>-qa-</i> (stem not used alone)	<i>naya-</i> to wear (clothing)
<i>-to'a-</i> (stem not used alone)	<i>naro'a-yu-</i> to have (one's skin) on
<i>-paq-i-</i> to bathe (bare stem not in use)	<i>nava'q-i'pi'ya'</i> bathed (them)-selves
<i>-qut-ci'a-</i> (for <i>qu-</i> see § 21, 12)	<i>nayu't-ci'a-</i> to burn up (intrans.)

A very common derivative of the primary idea of *na-* is that of reciprocity, generally of the subject, less often of the object, e. g.

<i>quq-wi-</i> to shoot	<i>nayu'q-wuq-i-</i> to shoot at each other, i. e. to fight
<i>ton-a-</i> to punch	<i>ni'anya nars'n'nanq-i'</i> I-him self-punch-to-present, I have a fist-fight with him
<i>kwap-a-</i> to hit	<i>naywi'p-a'qap-i'ya'</i> (they) hit each other
<i>may-a-</i> to give	<i>nanwa'zanq-i-</i> self-give-to, i. e. to pay
<i>tinlinia-</i> to tell (on)	<i>nari'ntinia(i)y-i'mi</i> they tell on each other
<i>tiw'iyu-</i> to ask	<i>nari'v'iyuq-wai'</i> (they) ask one another
<i>-tsun'na-</i> (stem not used alone)	<i>nantsun'na-</i> to joint, cause to be joined together

Reduplicated *nana-*, to express either iteration or distribution of reflexive-reciprocal activity (see § 58, 3 and 4), is common, e. g.:

<i>na-ro'q-wa-</i> to stretch oneself	<i>nana'ro-q-wai'</i> stretches (him)-self several times
<i>cvyu-ngwai-</i> . . . <i>cu-</i> to be one	<i>nana'c-v-yuqwaiyuc-u</i> (they) being one by one

It is frequently employed where emphasis on reciprocity, as distinct from reflexive activity, is desired, even when not more than two actors are involved, e. g.:

<i>wīnai-</i> to throw down	<i>nana'wīnaiŋqīyāŋani</i> I throw each other with him, i. e. I wrestle with him
<i>naruywa-</i> to oneself, to give to oneself	<i>nana'ruywa(i)yīaq-A</i> (they) 2 give it to each other

The idea of reciprocity leads naturally to that of duality of terms involving mutual relationship, e. g.:

<i>pavi-</i> elder brother	<i>nava'vŋwī</i> two brothers
<i>tcA²qa'itsi-</i> younger brother	<i>nantca'q'aitŋwī</i> two brothers
<i>moa(tsu)-</i> father	<i>na'ŋ'wA'tsŋwī</i> self-fathers, father and son
<i>pia-</i> mother	<i>navi'ŋwī</i> self-mothers, mother and daughter (or son)
<i>qum-a-</i> husband	<i>naŋu'm-ŋwī</i> self-husbands, husband and wife
<i>qimantsi-</i> stranger	<i>naŋi'mantsŋwī</i> two who are strangers to each other
<i>fiŋvō'ī-</i> friend	<i>naŋi'χivō'īŋwī</i> two friends
<i>pai-</i> three	<i>navai-</i> 2 x 3, i. e. six

Plurals of such dual reciprocals are formed by reduplicating *na-* to *nana-*, e. g. *nan-a'vaviŋwī* (three or more) BROTHERS; *nana-ŋ'watsŋwī* FATHER AND SONS; *nana'rūvō'īŋwī* (three or more) FRIENDS.

(2) *nai-ⁿ*. This element, which is perhaps compounded of reflexive-reciprocal *na-* and an unexplained *-i-ⁿ*, occurs only in:

<i>piŋwa-</i> wife	<i>na'impiŋwa-</i> wife's sister, (man's) brother's wife, i. e. potential wife
<i>quma-</i> husband	<i>na'inquma-</i> husband's brother, (woman's) sister's husband, i. e. potential husband

§ § 23-37. DERIVATIVE AND FORMAL SUFFIXES.

§ 23. Types of derivative and formal suffixes.

By "derivative suffixes" are here understood such elements as have derivational rather than purely formal or syntactic value, i. e. such elements as help to build up the word as such from the stem rather than to relate the word to other words in the sentence. Under formal suffixes are not here included strictly syntactic elements.

Derivative and formal suffixes may be grouped into seven more or less clearly distinct types of elements. 1. Noun suffixes, including absolute or classifying elements, elements defining possession, and tense elements; 2. Nominalizing suffixes, generally suffixed to verb stems, embracing agentive, instrumental, and verbal noun suffixes, certain special noun-forming elements, and participial suffixes; 3. Verbalizing suffixes, affixed to nominal, adjectival, or demonstrative stems; 4. Verbal derivative and formal suffixes, affixed to verb stems, embracing suffixes of movement, voice, verbal aspect, number, tense, and mode; 5. Diminutive *-(n)tsu-*, suffixed to both predicating and denominating terms; 6. Numeral suffixes; 7. Quasi-pronominal suffixes of special nature. In general it may be said that the derivative suffixes of Southern Paiute are, on the whole, of a general and colorless rather than of a specific or concrete nature.

§ 24. *Noun suffixes.*

(1) ABSOLUTE OR CLASSIFYING ELEMENTS. Many nouns end in a suffix that either suggests classification of the noun under a general category or that has little assignable significance except to render the noun absolute. Some of these elements disappear in composition or when the noun is used with a possessive pronominal enclitic, others may or may not. Some nouns appear with or without an absolute suffix, e. g. *nā'ηwī* and *nā'ηwī'nts* PERSON.

(a) *-vi-ⁿ*, *-pi-ⁿ*, *-mpi-ⁿ* absolute suffix implying indefiniteness or non-specification of possessor. These elements, which immediately follow the stem, are used with nouns expressing objects, persons, or relations that can hardly be thought of except in connection with other objects or persons, e. g. terms of relationship, body-part nouns, and substantivized local concepts (e. g. BOTTOM, SURFACE). They may be rendered by SOMEBODY'S, OF SOMETHING or, preferably, left untranslated. They always disappear with pronominal enclitics and in composition.

Examples of *-vi-ⁿ* are:

moa'-ni father-my

paa'-ni aunt-my

tī'tī'χwī-ⁿ friends

(plural, not reciprocal)

taya'p'ūa-ni servant-my

moa'φi (somebody's) father

paa'φi (somebody's) aunt

tī'tī'χwīφi (one's) friends

taya'p'ūaφi servant, one who serves another

<i>tu'tu'χua-ni</i> guardian-spirit-my	<i>tu'tu'χuaφi</i> guardian spirit
<i>wi'cia-s</i> feather	<i>wi'ci'a'φi</i> feather
<i>yini-s</i> crown of head (e. g. <i>yini'-χanti</i> having a crown)	<i>yini'φi</i> crown of the head
<i>mɔ'o-s</i> hand	<i>mɔ'o'φi</i> hand
<i>ɔa-s</i> back (e. g. <i>ɔa-ru-</i> to make a back)	<i>ɔa'φi</i> back
<i>pu'i-s</i> eye (e. g. <i>pu'i'-ηwi'tuɔa-</i> to cover one's eyes)	<i>pu'i'φi</i> eye
<i>ni(y)a'-ni</i> name-my	<i>ni(y)a'φi</i> name
<i>u²qwi'(y)u</i> arrow, <i>u²qwi'(y)v-ni</i> arrow-my	<i>u²qwi'(y)v-φ²i</i> (somebody's) arrow
<i>fina-s</i> bottom (e. g. <i>fina'aqA</i> its bottom)	<i>fina'φi</i> bottom (of anything)
<i>wiya-s</i> bank, edge	<i>wixa'-aφi</i> bank, edge (at top of precipice)
<i>naŋwa-ni</i> tracks-my	<i>naŋwa'φi</i> tracks

Examples of *-pi-i-n* are:

<i>muw^{wi}-o</i> nose	<i>muw^{wi}'p-i</i> nose
<i>pañ-o</i> blood	<i>pañ'p-i</i> blood
<i>wi'a-o</i> penis, <i>wi'a'(i)ya.ŋaruar'o-n-i</i> like his penis (obj.)	<i>wi'a'p-i</i> penis, <i>wi'a'p-ɪntuar'ɔn-i</i> like a penis (as such, not thought of as belonging to anyone)
<i>tira'χua-o</i> center, middle	<i>tira'χuap-i</i> center, middle (obj.)

Examples of *-mpi-n* are:

<i>taŋwa-n</i> tooth (e. g. <i>taŋwantu-</i> to make a tooth)	<i>taŋwa'mpi</i> tooth
<i>aɣɔ-n</i> tongue (e. g. <i>aɣɔ'ŋqwai-</i> to have a tongue)	<i>aɣɔ'mpi</i> tongue

It should be carefully noted that even when the noun is unpounded or used without other derivative suffix, it does not take the absolutive suffix when its possessor (person or object) is referred to or implied elsewhere in the sentence, e. g. *nē'ni a'xɔ* OF-ME TONGUE like *aɣɔ'ni*, not *nē'ni aɣɔ'mpi*, which would be intrinsically contradictory; *fina'i u'u'raintia* BOTTOM (obj.) IT-TOWARD-BEING (obj.), i. e. BEING TOWARD THE BOTTOM (of something already specified).

(b) *-vi-n*, *-p-i-n*, *-mpi-n* classificatory suffix referring chiefly to animals, topographical features, and objects (chiefly movable), less frequently persons. It is perhaps identical etymologically with (a). These suffixes are in some cases constant, i. e. never dropped, in others movable.

Examples of *-vi-n* (non-movable and movable) are:

- qī'φl* locust, *qī'vnl* my locust
aŋa'aφl ant
tA'ci'aφl red-ant: *tA'ci'aχa(·)nvī-* ant-camp, ant-hill
wi'tca'φl bee
pa'a'(tsi)φl animal
iyo'φl mourning dove, *iyo'vdcuatsiŋwī* mourning-dove-children
cina'aφl wolf
cina'ŋwaφl coyote, *cina'ŋwarintts* coyote-headed, *cina'ŋwaviŋkai-*
 to be coyote
tɔɔ'aφl rattlesnake: *tɔɔ'aruatsiŋwī* rattlesnake-children
aŋi'φl mosquito
pɔ'a'φl louse: *pɔ'a'ni* my louse
tira'φl desert: *tira(i)yua-* desert-plain, open plain
ava'φl shade: *ava'χani* shade-house, summer shelter
kīŋwa'aφl doll
pv'tsiφl star: *pv'tsiŋwtcap'i* star-excrement, shooting stars
ai'φl now: *ai-s* to be new (*ai'-vi-* probably originally noun, "recentness")
pi'qɔ'φl cactus-cake
qa'i'nacaφl supernatural being who owns deer on Kaibab Plateau
 (perhaps contains agentive *-vi-n*, see § 25, 1)

Examples of *-p-i-n* are:

- paɣa'tcA²qap-i* red-winged blackbird
o(w)i'p-i canyon, *maa'oi'p-impaywt-ux-wA* brush-canyon-in-to:
oi'ti' end of canyon, *o(w)i'ŋwayanti* canyon-having, canyon
q(w)ɔ'a'p-i tobacco: *q(w)ɔ'a't-i'ga-* to eat tobacco, to smoke
qu²qwa'p-i wood: *qu²qwa'n-ɔ-* to carry wood on one's back
wī'na'p-i arrow-head

Examples of *-mpi-n* are:

- u²qwa'mpi* tarantula (cf. *u²qwa'tsa-ts* small spider)
si'i'm-o-urampi bumble-bee

A few personal nouns are derived by combining (-*vi*-ⁿ), -*p-i*-ⁿ (-*mpi*-ⁿ) with -*tsi*- (see below), e. g.:

ĩŋa-'*p-its* baby; *ĩŋa*-'*ani* my baby
ĩnĩ-'*p-its* evil spirit, ghost, *ĩnĩ*-'*p-intup-i* ghost-making-game (for final -*p-i*, see § 25, 5, a)

Less frequently this suffix is also combined with -*mpĩ*- (see e below), e. g.:

cĩĩ-'*n-umpĩ* squaw-bush, ordinarily *cĩĩ*-'*ĩ* (stem *cĩĩ*-^s, e. g. *cĩĩru*- to make a basket out of squaw-bush twigs)

(c) -*mpi*-^s BERRY. This classificatory suffix can hardly be identified with -*mpi*- of (a) or (b) above, as it occurs in consistently nasalized form after all stems (e. g. *wa'a*-'*mpi* CEDAR-BERRY < *wa'a*-^s CEDAR) and has spirantizing, not nasalizing, power. Examples are:

tĩŋwa-'*mpi* service-berry, *tĩŋwa*-'*mpi*-'*ĩ* service-berry bush (for -*vi*- see e below)

wa'a-'*mpi* cedar-berry (cf. *wa'a*-'*p-ĩ* cedar tree)

tsi-'*a*-'*mpi* wild-rose berry, *tsi*-'*a*-'*mpi*-'*ĩ* wild-rose bush, *tsi*-'*a*-'*mpwa*-'*ts* wild-rose spring (place name)

pəxə-'*mpi* currant, *pəxə*-'*mpi*-'*ĩ* currant bush

wa-'*mpi* red holly-like berry, *wa*-'*mpi*-'*ĩ* berry bush, *wi*(*y*)-'*a*-'*mpi*-'*χarĩrĩ* berry-sitting (obj.), berry-knoll (obj.)

piya-'*i*-'*tcampi*-'*ĩ* locust tree (lit., locust-berry-tree)

(d) -*vĩ*-^s, -*p-ĩ*-^s, -*mpĩ*-^s absolute suffix, very similar, as regards range of usage, to -*vi*-ⁿ, -*p-i*-ⁿ, -*mpi*-ⁿ (b above). It is used in certain body-part nouns, in nouns denoting movable objects, objects in mass (e. g. SAND, MUD), and topographical features, and in nouns denoting HIDE, BLANKET. It is partly movable, partly fixed. When appropriate, this suffix may be followed, though infrequently, by -*vi*-ⁿ (see a above).

Examples of -*vĩ*-^s are:

pA-'*qa*-'*ĩ* sweat

tava-'*tsi*-'*ĩ* leg bone

qĩ-'*ca*-'*ĩ* (hawk's) wing, *qĩ*-'*ca*-'*vĩ*-'*ŋA* his wing, *qĩ*-'*ca*-'*vĩ*-'*ĩ* (somebody's) wing

paĩ-'*ŋi*-'*ĩ* hair of the head: *paĩ*-'*x-i* hair, *paĩ*-'*ŋi*-'*ĩ* my hair

əə-'*ĩ* bone, *tətsi*-'*əə*-'*ĩ* head-bone, skull: *əə*-'*ru*- to make a bone, *əə*-'*ani* my bone

- quna'phi* sack: *wyu'na* arrow-sack, quiver
ora'phi pole, post
wawa'phi foreshaft of cane arrow, *wawa'vini* my foreshaft: *wawa'-s-iva-* to whittle a foreshaft for a cane arrow
mantsi'phi scraper made of foreleg of deer, *mantsi'vphi* (one's) bone from elbow to wrist: *mantsi'ani* my bone of forearm
ti'ca'phi rope
wu'a'phi meat-soup: *wu'a'c-a'ai'* boils meat with soup
A'ta'phi sand: *A'ta'Ra'qa-yanti* sand-flat
yona'phi rocks lying around loose: *yona'xanints* little gravel-house
wia'phi mud, *wia'vini* my mud: *wia'naxuq-wi-* to fight with mud (missiles)
saxo'phi moist ground: *saxo'axanti* moist
pa'vits little spring (< *pa'-s* water; for diminutive *-tsu-* see § 35)
pi'v'a'phi fur (of animal): *pi'v'a'ya* his (animal's) hair
pi'phi hide: *pi'v'a'ya* his skin (for *-a-* see 2, c)
ti'qwi'tea'phi rabbit-skin blanket
pon'a'phi skunk-blanket (< *pona'-s* skunk), *pon'avuru-* to make a skunk-blanket
ti'ya'phi tanned deer-hide (< *ti'ya'-s* deer)
pa'ntsphi hair-wrapping beaver band (< *pa'nts'-s* beaver)
ti'v'i'phi hide (owned by one), *ti'v'i'vini* my hide (owned by me; not my own skin)

Examples of *-p-i'-s* are:

- ta'pa'ap'i* stockings, socks
qira'c-i'ap'i water-jar stopper
qwi'(y)a'p'i fence
ta'si'p'i flint, *ta'si'p-u'phi'ca'ai-* to look for flint
pa'i'qap'i ice
qu'tea'p'i ashes: *qu'tea'q-ari* ash-colored, light gray
ti'v'i'p'i earth, country, *ti'v'i'p'iani* my country: *ti'v'i'na'qutcuts* earth-worm
pia'p'i mare (< *pia-* mother, female)
A'ta'p'i rawhide
tu'qu'p'i panther-hide (< *tuq-u'-s* panther), *tu'qu'p-i'gai-* to have a panther-skin

One or other of these may really be past passive participles in *-p-i-* (see § 25, 5, b).

Examples of *-mpi'-s* are:

aŋwa'tampī rib
čīnī'mpī vulva, *čīnī'mpīaŋa* her vulva
ciŋwa'mpī sandy gravel: *pari's-ŋwaoip-1* sand-gravel "wash," ar-royo
twia'mpī gravel, mass of big and small rocks: *twi's'ip-1* creek running through rocky bed (probably *twia-* + *oi'p-1* canyon)
pa(q)'umpī hail: *pa(a)'u'uwā-* to hail (lit., to hail-rain)
qu'ca'arumpī trousers string, leggings thong (lit., leggings string-hide)
naro'ompī underwear (< *naro'o-* clothes, *naro'ŋqwa-* to have clothes)
qwi'n'aro'ompī clothing, blanket

Here probably belongs also *u't-ūmpī* old (e. g. *u't-ūmpīra'i* OLD SHIRT).

It is not at all improbable that all examples of *-vī-*, *-pī-*, *-mpī-* that indicate HIDE, BLANKET, CLOTHING are only apparently provided with absolutive *-pī-* and that they are really compound nouns whose second element, *-pī-*, is shortened (see § 11) from *pī-*, *pī-* HIDE (see above; *-vī-* of *pī'φī* HIDE itself, however, is clearly absolutive).

Apparently distinct from absolutive *-vī-*, though not easy to keep apart from it, is *-vī-* (*-pī-* and *-mpī-* are not found alternating with it) suffixed to nouns used in some specialized or metaphorical sense. These nouns are generally compounds. When possessive enclitics are added, possessive *-a-* (see 2, a below) is generally suffixed to *-vī-*. Examples are:

qani'φī nest (< *qani-* house)
tA'ci'aŋani'φī ant-house, ant-hill
fiŋqa'nūiani stone-house-owned-my, cave that I own: *fiŋqa'nī* cave, *fiŋqa'nūi* my cave (that I live in)
pū'fi'ŋqani'φī eye-cave, superciliary ridge
tūmpa'x'si'φī mouth-rim, lip (cf. *tA'qu'c-1* top-piece stitched on to upper of moccasin)
qani'nāŋqava'φī house-ear, flap of tepee (cf. *nāŋqava-* ear, *nāŋqa'va'φī* one's ear)
tA'qo'va'φī foot-face (cf. *qova'φī* one's face)
tA'pa'ia'φī foot-surface, sole (< *paia-* surface)
tī'rauq-wvī- unfeathered arrow (cf. *tī'ra-* empty; *uq-wi-(y)v-* arrow)

(e) *-vī-*, *-pī-*, *-mpī-* classifying suffix for plants. It may be rendered PLANT, TREE, BUSH. Less frequently it is used with nouns

indicating parts of plants. It is a movable element. Perhaps it is only a special use of *-vī-*, *-pī-*, *-mpī-* of (d).

Examples of *-vī-* are:

maa'φī brush, plant, *maa'vīni* my brush: *maa'xaiφA* brush-mountain, timbered mountain

o'χwi'φī grass: *o'χwi'aχai-* to be grassy (but also *o'χwi'vīaχai-* to have grass)

ao'ηgoφī dried-up tree, *ao'ηgovīani* my dried-up tree

wī'i'φī milkweed: *wī'i'tī'caφī* milkweed rope

qana'φī willow: *qana'rī* canyon-mouth bordered by willows

ciya'φī quaking asp

sahwa'φī sagebrush: *sahwa'uaγanfi-* sagebrush-singer

qwiya'φī scrub oak: *qwiya'rīnaφī* oak-stump

tō'vī'φī bulrush

tia'φī service-berry bush

naηqavī- leaf (< *naηqa-* branch)

qa'ō'φī pine-cone

uru'φī arrow-stick, stick from which arrow is to be made (< *uru-* to fix an arrow)

fīna'φī stump (perhaps related to *fīna'φI* bottom, see a above)

qō'cō'φī tinder, slow-match, *qō'cō'vuru-* to prepare a slow-match of cedar-bark

See also *-mpi-φī* berry-bush under *-mpi-* (c).

Examples of *-pī-* are:

wa'a'pī cedar: *wa'a'mpī* cedar-berry, *wa'a'p'a'ats* cedar-spring

fīv'a'pī piñon: *fīv'a-* pine-nut

īna'pī cedar-like tree: *īna'n'aηwī* apron of *īna'pī-* bark

cā'a'pī sapling, *oγō'c'ia'pī* fir-sapling: *cā'a'p'iaφI* tree-sap

so'vupī cottonwood: *cō'vnuq-wintī* cottonwood-stream

moγwa'pī cedar-bark: *moγwa'q'anī* cedar-bark wickiup

Examples of *-mpī-* are:

oγō'mpī fir: *oγō'ntava'ats* fir-chipmunk

A²qī'mpī sunflower-plant: *aqī-* sunflower seeds

tA'ci'mpī barrel-cactus clump: *tA'ci'm'anaφī* cactus-spines

γīv'vī'mpī long-leaved pine: *γīv'vī'ηkarīkī* pine-mountain, Mt. Trumbull

yu'a'vmpī opuntia: *yu'a'φI* opuntia fruit

s-qu'mpī "rabbit-bush": *suk-u-* gray squirrel

(f) *-tsi-ⁿ*, *-ntsi-ⁿ* (when preceded by nasal consonant) classifying suffix, chiefly for animate nouns. The suffix is sometimes movable, sometimes not. Animate examples of *-tsi-ⁿ* are:

fiw'a'ts wolf (myth name), *fiw'a'tsinavawiwī* wolf and his younger brother

mu'ra'ts mule

qwi(y)a'ts grizzly bear, *qwi(y)a'tsintī'qay'wi* to become a grizzly bear:

qwi'(y)ayanti grizzly bear

pu'itcats mouse: *navu'itcaru-* to change oneself into a mouse

sari'ts dog: *sari'vunguni* my dog (lit., my dog-pet)

tavu'ts cotton-tail rabbit: *tavu'm-uru'i* cottontail-rabbit blanket

qa'ts rat: *qa'-tsin'noro-* to poke with a stick into a hole for rats
(*-tsi-* is instrumental prefix, not classificatory suffix)

so'its soldier

paru'χuts prophet, composer of ghost-dance song: *paru'χuwanti* prophet

qwi'ts left-handed person (personal name): *qwi'ni* my left (hand)

qu'tcu'mpiyats buffalo-female (personal name): *qu'tcu'mpila* heifer
-tsi-ⁿ is common in tribal names, e. g.:

mori'tsiwī bean-people, Moapa Paiutes

yīw'ntī'tsiwī pine-canyon-mouth-people, Uintah Utes

parī'utsiwī fish-people, Paiutes of Panguitch Lake

qa'iva'uttsiwī mountain-lying-people, plateau people, Kaibab Paiutes

It is not always easy to decide whether a nominal *-tsi-* is classificatory *-tsi-ⁿ* or diminutive *-tsi-* (§ 35), e. g. *a'ipats* BOY, plur. *-tsiwī*.

A number of inanimate nouns also end in *-tsi-* (apparently not diminutive *-tsi-*), e. g.:

wi'ts knife: *wi'η'wūnap-i* knife-point, *wi'p-u'cayai-* to look for a knife

mara'ts metate: *ma'RA* metate

mo'a'ts stone mealer

Such nouns as these corroborate Shoshonean comparative evidence, which shows that **-ti*, **-ta* (S. Californian *-t*, *-l*; S. Paiute *-tsi-*) was originally used, like its Nahuatl cognate *-tl(i)*, for all types of nouns. In Paiute, however, this element tended largely to become restricted to animate (including particularly personal) nouns.

Examples of *-ntsi-* are:

q̄ma'nts stranger, *q̄ma'ntsɨw̄i* strangers, Shoshones (> Comanche):
q̄ma-s other
n̄ɨw̄i'nts person, *n̄ɨw̄i'ntsɨw̄i* persons, Indians: *n̄ɨw̄i-s* person
t̄m̄i'nts (male personal name)
p̄A'c̄i'γ̄i' m̄nts water-lizard: *p̄A'c̄i'χ̄i' m̄vaxar̄iR̄i* water-lizard lake
c̄i'm̄i'nts Muddy River

(g) *-v̄itsi-n*, *-p̄itsi-n*, *-mp̄itsi-n* classifying suffix for animate nouns. This suffix is compounded of *-v̄i-s*, *-p̄i-s*, *-mp̄i-s* (see d above) and animate *-tsi-n* (see f above). It is also quite possible that some of our examples contain diminutive *-tsi-* (cf. *pa'v̄its* SPRING under d). Examples of *-v̄itsi-n* are:

ȳɔɔ'v̄w̄its coyote (probably < *ȳɔɔ-s* to copulate with)
a'ic̄i'w̄v̄its butterfly
ȳin̄i'v̄w̄its bald-headed (personal name; *ȳin̄i-s* crown of the head)
a'v̄w̄ɨw̄v̄its newly married one (*āi-s* new + *pīɨwa-s* wife)
m̄u''p̄i'v̄w̄itsi- little one (*m̄u''p̄itsi-* LITTLE with diminutive *-tsi-*)

Examples of *-p̄itsi-n* are:

w̄antsi'p̄its antelope: *w̄a'nts* antelope, *w̄antsi'χ̄ar̄i* antelope-colored, light gray
t̄u'qu'p̄its wildcat: *t̄u'qu'ts* wildcat, *t̄u'qu'q̄āitc̄ɔx̄u* hat of wildcat skin
A'ta'p̄its crow: *A'ta'q̄w̄ots* crow
moo'p̄its hooting owl: *moo'n̄a'p̄i'ɨw̄* old man Owl
c̄i'γ̄i'p̄its lizard (cf. *c̄i'γ̄i' m̄nts* under f)
a'iph̄Ap̄its young man: *a'iv̄am̄i* young men
nan̄'a'p̄its old man (perhaps with diminutive *-tsi-*) < *nan̄'a-* to grow

It is very difficult to separate examples of *-p̄itsi-n* that contain animate *-tsi-* from such as are clearly compounded with diminutive *-tsi-*, e. g. *m̄u''p̄its* SMALL (cf. *m̄u''ants* A LITTLE); *pīya'p̄its* YOUNG FEMALE ANIMAL, FILLY (cf. *pīya'p̄i* MARE); *q̄am̄-i'ɔap̄its* LITTLE JACK-RABBIT. Cf. enclitic *-p̄itsi-* (§ 19, 3, b). Another difficulty lies in separating *-p̄i-* of *-p̄itsi-n* from past passive participial *-p̄i-* (§ 25, 5, b); thus, *nan̄'a'p̄its* may be plausibly analyzed as LITTLE GROWN-UP ONE.

Examples of *-mp̄itsi-n* are:

ina'm̄p̄its badger: *ina'ɨq̄w̄ac̄i* badger-tail
m̄i'γ̄i'm̄p̄its gopher: *m̄i'γ̄i'ɨq̄am̄i'p̄i* gopher-house, gopher pile

yĩŋi'mpĩts porcupine: *yĩŋi'ŋqwaɿ* porcupine-tail
ɔɔɔ'mpĩts bull-snake
qa'(a')mpĩts ruffed grouse
wi'qu'mpĩts buzzard
tavv'mpĩts cotton-tail rabbit (song-form for *tavv'its*)
yĩv'ĩmpĩts pine-man (personal name) < *yĩv'ĩ*-ⁿ pine

(2) ELEMENTS DEFINING POSSESSION. Here are grouped a number of suffixes that appear chiefly with possessive pronominal enclitics and which, on the whole, define the nature of the possessive relation. It is not always easy, as a matter of fact, to see exactly what increment of significance they bring.

(a) *-a-* seems to be used to indicate possession that is alienable, particularly, it would seem, of such objects as are not normally thought of as being possessed. It is generally preceded by *-pĩ-* (see 1, d and e). Examples are:

fiɔv'ĩp'ĩanĩmi our (excl.) country (*-nĩmi* our); *fiɔv'ĩp'ĩaianĩmi* our country (obj.) (*-ia-* objective, § 49, 1).
pa'aɔvianĩ spring that I own
a'ɔŋqovianĩ my dried-up woods
fiŋga'nivĩa(i)ya'ŋwa his cave (obj.) owned as house (*-ya-* objective);
fiŋga'nivĩatsiaɸĩ his own little cave (obj.) (*-tsi-* diminutive; *-a-* objective; *-ɸĩ*, § 40, 4)

Possessive *-a-* may also be used with causative *-t'ui-* (§ 29, 12) to form verbs indicating TO CAUSE TO HAVE SO AND SO, e. g.:

tũmp'ĩ'Atuip'ĩya' caused (it) to have stones
qan'ĩ'Atuip'ĩya' caused (it) to have houses
nanqa'Atuip'ĩya' caused (it) to have branches

For possessive *-a-* combining with verbalizing *-kai-* TO HAVE into *-aɣai-* (participle *-aɣanti-*), see § 26, 1, b; for possessive *-a-* after past passive participial *-pĩ-*, see 3, b below.

(b) *-ŋwa-*, *-ŋ'wa-*. These elements are used very much like *-a-*, occurring both before possessive pronominal enclitics and verbalizing *-kai-* TO HAVE, not, however, before causative *-t'ui-*. They do not seem to be used after classificatory *-pĩ-* (1, d and e), but may be directly appended to noun stems. Examples of *-ŋwa-* are:

pai'ŋwanĩ my blood (absolute *pai'pĩ*; in possessive forms of this noun *-ŋwa-* is always used)

- u(w)l'wəyanŋi* canyon-possessive-having, canyon
pa-n'a'q-ar'uiwəyanŋi money-become (§ 26, 1, g)-possessive-having,
 one who has money
quna'wəxaiŋup'i'ɣa' fire-possessive-have-momentaneous- past, got
 fire
nīmp'i'wəruŋwəp'wəxaiyū person-wife-deprive-past pass. partic.
 (§ 25, 5, a)-possessive-have-subordinating, while having (as his own
 wife) somebody else's wife taken away (by him)
nīv'a'uŋwə'uiŋtūwani snow-rain-become (§ 26, 1, g)-present ptc.
 (§ 25, 6, a)-possessive-my, snow belonging to me (snow-raining =
 snow)

Examples of *-ŋ'wa-* (it is not clear how, if at all, it differs in usage from *-wə-*) are:

- tūmp'w'i'ŋ'wə-ŋA* his rock
ma'xarir'ŋwə(i)ya-ŋA his clump of trees (obj.)
qa'ntūiŋ'wə-ŋA sing-become (§ 26, 1, g)-present ptc. (§ 25, 6, a)-
 possessive-his, song belonging to him

Both *-wə-* and *-ŋ'wa-* are used particularly to indicate possession of one of a group by the group (e. g. OUR LEADER = THAT ONE OF US WHO IS LEADER). This includes adjectival participles indicating selection (e. g. THE GOOD ONE of several). Examples are:

- na'wŋ'wəŋwA* our chief; *qan'i'ayanŋiA na'wŋ'wA* house-possessive-
 having-obj. chief-possessive, village's chief
ampa'xarŋ'wə-m'ü talker- possessive-their, their talker; *qan'i'ayanŋi*
ampa'xarŋ'wA village's main speaker
ava'tiŋw'əw'wəwA big-present ptc. (§ 25, 6, a)-possessive-animate
 plur.- their (anim.), their big ones (anim.), those of them (anim.)
 that are big
a't'iŋwəwə'a'wəwA good-present ptc.-possessive-animate plur.-obj.-
 their, the good ones (anim. obj.)
fiv'w'itc at'ŋwə(i)'yaq-wA very good-present ptc.-obj.-their (inan.),
 a very good one of them (inan.)

(c) *-a-* is used to indicate possession, chiefly of body-parts, that is inherent without being strictly inalienable. In other words, it is suffixed to nouns indicating objects (or persons) that do often occur disconnected in experience (e. g. SALIVA, BONE, SKIN) but are thought of as indissolubly connected. Examples are:

ɔʔʔani my bone (i. e. bone of my own body); *ʔʔaʔʔiɔʔʔa* shoulder-bone-possessive, shoulder-blade: absolute *ɔʔʔi* bone
pʔiʔʔa(i)yaʔʔa his skin (obj.): absolute *pʔiʔʔi* skin, hide
nʔiʔʔi qʔiʔʔiʔʔa me saliva-possessive, my saliva: absolute *qʔiʔʔiʔʔi* saliva
nʔiʔʔi tqmuʔʔa me sinew-possessive, my sinew: absolute *tam-uʔʔi* sinew
ʔiʔʔiʔʔayooʔʔa deer-fat-possessive, fat of deer: absolute *yooʔʔi* fat
qariʔʔiʔʔpʔʔʔʔʔʔiʔʔa saddle-head-possessive, saddle-horn
nʔʔʔiʔʔa(i)ya-qʔa person-possessive-obj-its, its (country's) people (obj.)

(d) *-inʔʔ(n)iʔʔ* (*-inʔʔiʔʔ*) OWNED. This element is always employed with alienable nouns and has a specific reference to actual ownership as contrasted with mere possession in the grammatical sense. Examples are:

puraʔʔinʔʔnini my flour
pʔʔʔinʔʔnini my owned trail (not merely: trail that I use)
saxw(ʔʔ)iaʔʔinʔʔnini my owned belly, (some animal's) belly that I possess (as meat); contrast *saxw(ʔʔ)iaʔʔni* my belly
qaniʔʔnini my house (that I own); contrast *qaniʔʔni* my house (that I live in)
qunaʔʔiʔʔniaraʔʔwa our possessed fire (obj.)
nʔʔ qamiʔʔiniʔʔaʔʔ I jackrabbit-owned-have, I have a jackrabbit (*qamiʔʔaʔʔ* to be a rabbit, see § 26, 1, a)
ʔʔiʔʔuʔʔvʔʔainʔʔntsiʔʔaimʔʔi cold-water-owned-diminutive-have-usitative present, is wont to have cold water (*ʔʔiʔʔuʔʔvʔʔaʔʔ*)

(e) *-vʔʔquʔʔ*, *-pʔʔquʔʔ*, *-mpʔʔquʔʔ* PET, DOMESTICATED ANIMAL. This is no true suffix, but merely the compounded form of *pʔʔquʔʔ* HORSE (belonging to one; contrast *qavaʔʔ* HORSE absolutely), originally PET, DOMESTICATED ANIMAL, DOG (cf. Tübatulabal *pʔʔquʔʔ-l* DOG). It is listed here because it is regularly added to all nouns denoting owned animals. It is a suffix in the making. Examples are:

qavaʔʔvʔʔquʔʔni my horse (more frequently simply *pʔʔquʔʔni*)
pʔiʔʔxvʔʔquʔʔaraʔʔwa pig-pet-our, our pig
a(i)yaʔʔvʔʔquʔʔni my turtle
sariʔʔvʔʔquʔʔni my dog; *sariʔʔvʔʔquʔʔxwai* to have a dog
quʔʔʔcuʔʔmpʔʔquʔʔni buffalo-pet-my, my ox; *quʔʔʔcuʔʔmpʔʔmpʔʔquʔʔquʔʔwʔʔaraʔʔwa* buffalo-pets (for reduplication see § 58, 2, d) -animate plur.-our, our cattle

(3) TENSE ELEMENTS. Tense can be expressed in nouns provided they are first verbalized. This is generally done by suffixing *-kai-* TO BE (§ 26, 1, a) and then turning the denominative verb into a participle. Thus, the future form of *qava-s* HORSE is *qava-'χaiva-nti* HORSE-BE-FUTURE-PARTICIPLE, A HORSE TO BE; similarly, *qam-i'χaivätcī* JACK-RABBIT-BE-USITATIVE-PARTICIPLE, ALWAYS A JACKRABBIT. Here we shall specifically list only two compound suffixes relating to past time, because of their rather characteristic usage.

(a) *-γaip-i-*, *-q'aip-i-*, *-ηq'aip-i-* HAVING BEEN, PAST, FORMER; compounded of *-kai-* TO BE and past participial *-p-i-* (see § 25, 5, a). Examples are:

ini'a-γaip-ini my dead relation < *ini'a-ni* my relative

murū'ixaip-i cast-away blanket

ɔ'tea'(vi)γaip-i formerly used water-jar (*ɔ't.c.a*)

qa'yaañ-iaχaip-iā'ahwA rat-hunt-place-be-past partic.-obj.-his, place (obj.) where he used to hunt rats

tna'vñk'aip-i punch-er-be-past partic., one who used to be a puncher

(b) *-p-i-* PAST, FORMER. This is the past participial *-p-i-* (see § 25, 5, a), only rarely used with noun stems, e. g.:

qanu'p-i abandoned house, village site, old camping place

It is sometimes found combined with possessive *-a-* (2, a) as *-p-ia-*, e. g.:

a'ifAp-i(γ)arīγiv'inī youth-past-possessive- friend-my, my former youthful friend

This *-p-ia-* occurs also combined with other elements in verbal forms (see *-p-ia-γai-t-ua-*, § 32, 8; *-p-ia-yi-*, § 32, 7).

§ 25. Nominalizing suffixes.

These are formed chiefly from verb and adjective-verb stems. The verbal noun in *-n-a-* and the various participles are in very frequent, in part idiomatic, use.

(1) AGENTIVE *-vi-n-*, *-mpi-n-*. Examples of agentive *-vi-n-* are:

muwaraxi- to crush

wa'a'mpim-uwaraxiφi cedar-ber-ry-crusher, spermophile

marin-a- to chase

nīñwī'm-arin-aφi man-chaser, lizard (sp.)

nay'a'riŋqĩ- to dodge
nə- to carry on one's back
ampaxa- to talk
təna- to punch

nay'a'riŋqĩφi dodger
nĩŋw'i'nə'φi man-carrier, roc
ampa'xaφi talker
təna'wŋkaip'i one who used to
 be a puncher

Examples of agentive *-mpi-n* are:

taŋa- to kick
əwŋwi- to grunt, growl

taŋa'mpi kicker
əw'ŋwɪmpi grunter

Agentives are used to refer only to permanent (quasi-occupational) activities. Temporary or casual agentives are expressed by means of active participles (see 6 below).

(2) INSTRUMENTAL *-nūmpĩ-*, *-n'ūmpĩ-*. This suffix is compounded of usitative *-nū-n* (see § 30, 11) and passive participial *-pĩ-* (see below); *-n'ūmpĩ-* has accessory ', perhaps of momentaneous significance (§ 53, 2, a, 3). There seems to be no clear difference of function between *-nūmpĩ-* and *-n'ūmpĩ-*.

Examples of instrumental *-nūmpĩ-* are:

yĩ'ixi- to swallow
qarĩ- to sit, ride horseback
wĩ'qa'm'mi- to cover

yum'muxwi- to poke

ts'qwan'nə- to stir up (mush)
tA'cin'nu- to play cup-and-ball
 with a rabbit's head

yĩ'ixinūmpĩ swallower, throat
qarĩ'n'ūmpĩ saddle
pu'l'ŋwĩ'qam'munūmpĩ eye-cov-
 erer, blinder (for a horse)
tayw'm'muxwnūmpĩ foot-poker,
 spur
ts'qwa'n'nənūmpĩ mush-stirrer
tA'ci'n'nunūmpĩ rabbit-head used
 in cup-and-ball game

Examples of *-n'ūmpĩ-* are:

ĩya- to enter
fiŋwa- to close
ĩ'ta'- to stretch out (a skin)
kwip'a- to beat

pA'qa- to kill, to guess the right
 bone in the hand-game

moŋ'z'ixan'nūmpĩ nose-enterer,
 bit and bridle
qan'ntciŋwəq'nūmpĩ house-closer,
 door
ĩ'ta'n'nūmpĩ hide-stretching
 frame
kwĩ'pa'n'ūmpĩ beater, shinny-
 stick
pA'qa'n'nūmpĩ bone that is to be
 guessed in the hand-game

On the whole it seems that the action in instrumentals in *-n'impī-* is conceived of as momentaneous, in those in *-nūmpī-* as durative.

(3) VERBAL NOUN IN *-na-*. Verbal nouns in *-na-* are freely formed from all verbs and often appear in syntactic combinations. More often than not, a verbal noun in *-na-* is used with a possessive pronoun, often in a subjective or objective relative sense. When a tense suffix is absent, it refers to present or general time. Futures in *-va-na-* (cf. § 32, 4) and perfectives in *-qai-na-* (cf. § 32, 3) are also very common. In the case of transitive verbs, the action is to be thought of as passive rather than active, e. g. *ampa'yanani* MY TALKING, WHAT IS SAID BY ME. Nevertheless, the matter of voice does not seem to be clearly defined in *-na-* forms. Examples are:

nī'ni nō'nani me carying-my, my pack
nīŋwī'RUQwat-urwaq-an-araŋwa person-under-to-plural subj.-verbal
 noun- our, our going under a person, our being beaten
w'a'ŋn'a-m-ur 'a'i'niŋucampa shouting-their it silent-become-but,
 but their shouting became silent
tō'ō'iwī'oran'naŋw aŋi bulrush-digging-his it, the bulrushes he digs
 (dug) up
nī' o'p'a' an'va-n-i imi a'i'namī I thus do-shall thee saying-thy, I
 shall do as you say
tī'qa'va-n'aŋw u'R eat-future-verbal noun-his it, his being about to
 eat, for him to eat
nŋnō'c'va-n-anī what I shall dream
nŋnō'c'kainanī what I dreamt
m'w'a'ŋ 'ani'k'a i'a'vuruŋuqwaiananī that-one do-resultative wounded-
 make-momentaneous-perfective-verbal noun-my, that one it is
 whom I have wounded

Cases of *-na-* as noun-forming or adjective-forming derivative without clear verbal force are uncommon, e.g.:

uru''ana being, property < *uru'a-* to be
wī'ŋō'ō'paq'inA vulva-perforated-verbal noun, vagina
awa''ana much < *awa'a* to be much

For the idiomatic use of *-na-c-u-* with verbs of doing and saying, see § 62.

(4) SPECIAL NOMINAL DERIVATIVES. Here are grouped a few nominalizing suffixes of more than ordinarily concrete significance.

(a) *-t̥i-a-* PLACE OF. Examples of nouns in *-t̥i-a-* formed from verb stems are:

<i>na'a'it̥i-ai-</i> to cause to burn	<i>na'a'it̥i-ut̥i'</i> cause-to-burn place, fireplace
<i>tur(w)v-</i> to cache	<i>tur(w)u't̥i-ai</i> my caching-place, my cache
<i>qa'-yaai-</i> to hunt rats	<i>qa'yaait̥i-axai-p̥i'a'aywa</i> place where (obj.) he used to hunt rats
<i>n̥iv^w-a-RA't̥on'ni-</i> to shake off snow from one's feet	<i>n̥iv^w-a'RA't̥on'ni't̥i'aywa</i> his place of shaking off snow from his feet
<i>kwit̥u-</i> anus + <i>yay-</i> to copulate with	<i>kwit̥i'iyot̥i'</i> anus-copulating-place, passive pederast

Less commonly *-t̥i-a-* is suffixed to noun stems, e. g.:

<i>qani-</i> house	<i>qanu't̥i-ai</i> my house-place, my camping place
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Alone among derivative suffixes, *-t̥i-a-* forms a reduplicated plural (see § 58, 2, b): *-t̥i-ri-a-* PLACES OF, e. g.:

<i>t̥i'qa't̥i-a</i> eating place	<i>t̥i'qa't̥i-ri-a</i> eating places
<i>qanu't̥i-a</i> camping place	<i>qanu't̥i-ri-a</i> camping places

(b) *-va-*, *-p̥-a-*, *-mpa-* CONTEST, FIGHT. Examples are:

<i>na'yu'q-wip̥-a</i> war, battle with bows and arrows (lit., shoot-one-another-contest), obj. <i>na'yu'q-wip̥ai-a</i>
<i>ɔɔ'mp̥-a</i> fist-fight, obj. <i>ɔɔ'mp̥ai-a</i>

An isolated noun suffix *-va^s* occurs in *na'ngqa'va^s* EAR (absolute *na'ngqa'vaφi*) < *na'ngqa-* TO HEAR. Also isolated is *-mpa^s* in *turump̥a^s* SKY < *tur̥u-* UP. Both of these are old Shoshonean elements, cf. Hopi *nak^w-ve*, Gitanemuk *a-ka-va*, i. e. *a-k-a-va* (< **a-ŋkava* < **a-naka-va*) EAR; Tübatulabal *dogu-mba-l*, Möhineyam *dugu-ba-l*, Gabrielino *tuku-pa-r* SKY.

(c) *-r̥i-*, *-t̥i-*, *-n̥ti-* CANYON MOUTH. This suffix seems to be added only to noun stems, but is most conveniently listed here. Perhaps it is related to *-t̥i-a-* PLACE OF. Examples are:

<i>qana^s</i> willow	<i>qana'r̥i'</i> mouth of canyon bordered by willows (> Kanab)
--------------------------------	--

oi-^o canyon (absolute *oi'p-i*)
yiv^wi-n pine

oi't-i' mouth of canyon
yiv^wi'nti' mouth of canyon bordered by pines (> Uintah),
yiv^wi'nti'tsiywi Uintah Utes

(d) *-ya-^s* FORE PART. This suffix also is apparently added only to noun stems. It has been found in:

wawa-^s foreshaft to cane arrow *wawa'(i)'ya-phi* foreshaft
 (absolute *wawa'phi*)
tümpa- mouth

tümpa''ya' mouth of canyon
 (apparently found only in compounds, e. g.: *s-qu'rumpa'ya'* mouth of rabbit-bush canyon
 < *s-qu'-mpi* rabbit-bush; *sa'i-t-ümpa(i)'ya'* mouth of salt-canyon < *sa-* salt)

(e) *Isolated elements.* There are a few elements that may be recognized as noun suffixes (or stereotyped compounded stems), but to which no definite meaning can be assigned. Among these is *-n'nañqa-* (cf. perhaps *nañqa-* EAR-ORNAMENT) in bird nouns:

qiri'n'nañqats sparrow-hawk
sa'a'n'nañqa goose

-q-wa-(tsi-) occurs in:

A'ta'q-wots crow (cf. parallel *A'ta'p-üts*)

-tsa- occurs in:

U^sqwa'tsa-ts small spider (cf. *U^sqwa'mpi* tarantula)

(5) PASSIVE PARTICIPLES. Two distinct suffixes of closely related meaning are frequently employed in Paiute to express the passive participle, *-p-i-* and *-p-ü-*. It is difficult to say just what difference of meaning there is between these elements, though they are not used interchangeably. On the whole, *-p-i-* seems to have a more substantival force, *-p-ü-* a more truly participial one; it would be incorrect to press this point, however. Moreover, *-p-i-* is primarily tenseless except when preceded by specific tense elements, e. g. future *-va-*; *-p-ü-* is always preterital. Both may be formed from intransitive stems, though derivatives formed from transitive verbs are naturally far more common.

(a) *-p-i-* passive participle. Examples are:

<i>sa'a-</i> to boil	<i>sa'a'p-i</i> what is boiled, mush
<i>ayan-i-</i> how? to do (be) in what way?	<i>gac'u'q-w aya'n-i'ka'p-i naia'-raywq'a</i> not-it how-do-perfective-passive partic.-like seem-negative, it does not look as though capable of handling
<i>cu(w)ai-</i> to be glad	<i>cu(w)a'ip-i</i> (some one's) being glad
<i>non'oc-i-</i> to dream	<i>non'o'cip-i</i> what is dreamt, dream (as noun)
<i>tavi-</i> to hit, plur. subj. <i>tavi-k'a-</i>	<i>tavi'k'am'ip-i</i> who are (were) always hit
<i>fixwi'n-a-</i> to tell a story	<i>fixwi'n-ap-i</i> what is told, story
<i>ti'qa-</i> to eat	<i>ti'qa'va-p-i</i> what shall (always) be eaten
<i>ivi-</i> to drink	<i>ivi'p-i</i> something drunk, <i>ivi'-k'aip-i</i> what was evidently drunk (by someone)
<i>ampa'ya-</i> to talk	<i>na'qqa'p'ia ampa'x'apiA</i> heard talked (obj.), heard some one talking
<i>cv'p'ar'ua-</i> several gather together	<i>cv'p'ar'ua'p-i</i> gathered-together, gathering place

A considerable number of nouns referring to games are passive participles in *-p-i-*, e. g.:

<i>naia'wi-</i> to play the hand-game	<i>naia'wup-i</i> hand-game
<i>ini'p'untu-</i> to make a ghost, to play at ghosts	<i>ini'p'untup-i</i> ghost-making game
<i>mar'o'xi-</i> to make a pile of dirt	<i>mar'o'xi'p-i</i> game of making piles of dirt

(b) *-p-i-* past passive participle. Examples are:

<i>sa'ma-</i> to spread out (a blanket, sheet)	<i>sa'ma'p-i</i> having been spread out, cover on which something is put
<i>wi'tca'-</i> to wrap about	<i>wi'tca'p-i</i> having been wrapped about, band

<i>no-</i> to carry on one's back	<i>no'p'i</i> carried on one's back, pack
<i>ai-</i> to say	<i>a'ip'ia-ŋ o'p'ac an-i'p'ia'a'</i> say- passive partic.-obj.-his that- way-again it-did, it happened as he had said
<i>naŋqa-</i> to hear	<i>mai'm imi naŋqa'q'aip'i'mi</i> that- thy thee hear-perfective-pas- sive partic.-thy, that (is) thy heard, that is what you heard
<i>qwi-</i> to take	<i>piŋwa'xw'i p'iaŋwa</i> wife-taken- his, whom he had taken as wife
<i>ora-</i> to dig up	<i>ora'p'ini</i> my having-been-dug, something that I dug long ago
<i>qwa'ci-</i> to be ripe	<i>qwa'ci'p'iaq'a</i> ripened-it, it (is) ripe
<i>qwitca-</i> to defecate	<i>qwitca'p'i</i> excrement
<i>si'i-</i> to urinate	<i>si'i'p'i</i> urine

Several nouns referring to ceremonials, dances, and games are really past passive participles in *-p'i-*, e. g.:

<i>ki(y)a-</i> to play, dance a round	<i>ki(y)a'p'i</i> round dance
<i>-ti'v'i-</i> to lead away	<i>gam'i'n'ariv'i'p'i</i> jackrabbit-re- ciprocal-lead away-passive par- tic., game in which each tries to head off rabbits from others
<i>yaya-</i> to cry	<i>yaya'p'i</i> having been cried, mourning ceremony
<i>tu'u'n'NI²qa-</i> to dance the scalp	<i>tu'u'n'NI²qap'i</i> scalp dance
dance	

(6) ACTIVE PARTICIPLES. The primary form of the active participial suffix is *-ti-ⁿ*. When unpreceded by a tense element, it refers to present time or, particularly in secondary substantival uses, is tenseless. Participles of explicitly temporal reference may be formed from the present participle by prefixing appropriate temporal suffixes to *-ti-ⁿ*. Animate plurals are formed by suffixing *-m-i-* (§ 48, 1, a), e. g. *-rim-i-*.

(a) *Present participle*: *-ri-ⁿ* (*-tcī-ⁿ* after *i*; *-ntcī-ⁿ* after nasal + *i*), *-ti-ⁿ*, *-nti-ⁿ*. Examples are:

tī'qa- to eat
ivi'-k'a- several drink
nāa- to blow

qA'qa'rī- to run away
pU'tcu'tcu'wa- to understand

ivi- to drink
tcaṃwī'k'iqwa'(a)i- to die off

avi- to lie
an-i-

ai- to say
a'a- to be good
A'pī'iqwa'ai- not to sleep

na'ai- to burn
-mi- usitative
-r'ui- to become
NU²qwi- to flow

tī'qa'rī eating
ivi'k'arimī those drinking
nāa'rī blowing, wind; *nāa'rīntī-*
qaṃwī'pīya' turned into wind
qA'qa'rīrī one who runs away
i'mi pU'tcu'tcu'war'iqWA thou
 (art) understanding-it
ivi'tcī drinking
tcaṃwī'k'iqwa'(a)itcīm^wiA those
 dying off (obj.)
avi'tcī lying, plateau
an-i'ntcī doing so, anim. plur.
an-i'ntcīm^wi-
a'intcī saying, sayer (§ 13, 3)
a't-ī good
A'pī'iqwa'ait-ī one who does not
 sleep
na'a'intī burning, fire
a'imintīmī those saying
tu'wa'r'uintī becoming night
NU²qwi'ntī flowing, stream

For *-kantī-* HAVING; BEING < *-kai-* TO HAVE; TO BE, see § 26, 1, a, b.

(b) *Future participle*: *-va-nī-*, *-mpa-nī-*; formed from future *-va-*, *-mpa-* (§ 32, 4). Examples are:

<i>pī'pī'tcī-</i> to arrive	<i>pī'pī'tcīv^wa-nī</i> being about to arrive, going to arrive, shall be arriving
<i>pī'ka''ayaxai-</i> to be a hard-shell turtle	<i>pī'ka''axai^wa-nī</i> destined to be a hard-shell turtle
<i>pA²qa'ḡu-</i> to kill	<i>pA²qa'ḡumpa-nī</i> going to kill, will kill

(c) *Usitative participle*: *-vatcī-*, *-mpatcī-*. The usitative element *-va-*, phonetically treated as though terminating in *-i-*, is not otherwise used as a verb suffix. It is perhaps identical with postpositive *-va-AT* (§ 50, 4, 37), which also changes following *-t-* to *-tc-*. Examples are:

<i>nən-ɔ'c-i-</i> to dream	<i>nən-ɔ'c-i^watcī</i> accustomed to dream, having ever dreamt
<i>na'ai-</i> to burn	<i>na'a'iwatcī</i> wont to burn

<i>qari-</i> to sit	<i>qari'vatci</i> who always sits
<i>o'xwai-</i> to have an arrow	<i>o'xwaiatci</i> provided with an arrow
<i>nantsin'i-</i> to fly	<i>nantsi'n'ivatci</i> always flying around
<i>-mi-</i> ⁿ usitative	<i>avi'm'impatci</i> always accustomed to lie down

(d) *Perfective participle*: *-q'anti-*ⁿ; based on perfective *-q'ai-* (§ 32, 3). Examples are:

<i>pñu'k'ai-</i> to see	<i>pñu'k'aiḱ'antī</i> having seen
<i>pa'x'iqwō'ai-</i> to go away	<i>pa'x'iqwō'aiḱ'antī</i> having gone away
<i>qanu'xai-</i> to have a house	<i>qanu'xaiḱ'antī</i> who had a house

(e) *Narrative preterital participle*: *-p'iyanti-*ⁿ; based on narrative preterital *-p'iyai-*. This participle differs from the preceding in referring more explicitly to past time, also in being more frequently used in narrative as a sort of equivalent for properly preterital forms in *-p'iyai-* (see §32, 6; also § 55, 4, e). Examples are:

<i>pa²qa'ḡuṭi-</i> to be killed	<i>pa²qa'ḡuṭiṭip'iyanti'ḡuru'aw'ĩ</i> be-killed-preterit partic.-he is-dubitative, maybe he has been killed
<i>fiyai-</i> to take place	<i>fiya'ip'iyanti</i> having taken place
<i>qa²qa'ḡuḡqv-</i> would kill	<i>pa²qa'ḡuḡquṭ²p'iyantiṭi</i> who would have killed me
<i>'u'raiḡu-</i> to go towards it	<i>nā' u'raiḡuṭip'iyanti</i> I (am) having-gone-towards-it, I went towards it

(f) *Animate plurals of participles*. Animate plurals of active participles have been already referred to. They end in *-fi-m-ĩ*. A curious idiom allows of their use also as singulars. This takes place when the participle refers to a person (or animal) that is singled out from a number or is compared with others. The plural ending of the participle, in other words, refers to the implied collectivity rather than to the person explicitly indicated. Examples are:

qutca'p:ot'o'qwarimĩ blue-round-adj. verb-partic.-plur., one who is blue around (as contrasted with others of different color)

təɣo'n'op-a' təɣo'q-wɛtɕimĩ quite-me-like running-plur., equal to me in running
qa'te 'a'iyuɣwai'tĩmĩ not good-negative-partic.-plur., not a good one
nĩxa'ʼəvat'im-wiaŋA me-greater-partic.-plur.-he, he (is) greater than I
fiw'i'ts pa'a'nĩmĩ very tall-partic.-plur., tallest; contrast *fiw'i'ts pa'a'nĩ* very tall (no comparison involved)

Analogous constructions are found in other than *-fi-n* forms, e. g.:
nĩ' nari'xwɛnApĩwũ I mighty-plur. (§ 48, 1, b), I (am) a mighty person (as contrasted with others)

§ 26. Verbalizing Suffixes.

A number of verb-forming suffixes are in common use. They transform noun, adjective, and demonstrative stems into verbs.

(1) Elements suffixed to noun and adjective stems.

(a) *-ɣai-*, *-q'ai-*, *-ŋqai-*, TO BE. Any noun or participle may become a verb of being by means of this suffix, e. g.:

<i>nĩwĩ-^s</i> person	<i>nĩwĩ'xaiɣu</i> while being a person
<i>qanu-^s</i> house	<i>qanu'xaiŋu</i> house-be-momentaneous, to be already manifest as a house
<i>wĩ'cia-^s</i> feather	<i>wĩ'ci'a'xaiŋ'ain-a-ŋA</i> feather-be-perfective-verbal noun -his, what had been his feathers
<i>sari'ts-^s</i> dog	<i>nĩ' sari'tsɣa'</i> I am a dog
<i>tũmp^{wi-o}</i> rock	<i>tũmp^{wi}'k'aini</i> I am a rock
<i>nĩxa'ʼəva't-i-n</i> greater than I	<i>nĩxa'ʼəva't-iŋqaiwa-t-ŋni'</i> I-greater-active partic.-be-future-gerund-like, if (you) are to be greater than I

For negative *-ai-* NOT TO BE, see § 57, 2 c.

Before subordinating *-q-u-* (§ 55, 1, e) verbifying *-kai-* TO BE becomes *-ka-*, e. g.:

<i>a'ip'atsɣai-</i> to be a boy	<i>a'ip'atsɣa-qunĩ</i> when I was a boy
---------------------------------	---

For corresponding negative *-a'-q-u-* WHEN NOT TO BE, see § 57, 2, c.

The active participial form of this suffix is *-ɣanti-n*, *-q-anti-n*, *-ŋqanti-n*. e. g.:

ta²qa-^s to be flat

cii-^s to be strong

'ontcoχi-^s to be one-eyed

yu(w)a-^s

wi'qon-oi-^s to be circular

ta²qa-^syanli being flat, flat country

cii'xanti strong

'ontcoχi'xanti one-eyed

yu(w)a-^sχanti being level, plain

wi'qon-oi'χanti circular

As may be seen from these examples, *-kanti-ⁿ* forms many nouns and adjectives. Many of these participial forms, indeed, seem to be more freely used than the *-kai-* verbs from which they are derived.

Compounded with indirective *-ηqi-* (§ 29, 2) this element seems to appear as *-ai-* (cf. negative *-ai-* NOT TO BE, § 57, 2, c). *-ai-ηqi-* seems to indicate TO ACT LIKE —TO. It occurs in:

cina'waw-ηkai- to be coyote; to be amorous, "mushy"

cina'waw'aiηqi acts like coyote to (her); acts in an inordinately amorous manner toward (her)

(b) *-yai-*, *-qai-*, *-ηqai-* TO HAVE. This element closely parallels the preceding in all its forms (including negative *-ai*; subordinate *-ka-q-u-*; negative subordinate *-a-q-u-*; participle *-kanti-ⁿ*). From the form alone it is not always possible to tell whether the *-kai-* suffix denotes TO BE OR TO HAVE; e. g. *tump'ik'ai-* TO BE A ROCK OR TO HAVE A ROCK. Frequently, however, the theoretical ambiguity is removed by the use of a nominal possessive suffix (§ 24, 2) before the *-kai-*; e. g. *sari'tsiχaiwätcī* WONT TO BE A DOG, but *sari'vunquχwäiwätcī* WONT TO HAVE A DOG (§ 24, 2, e). On account of their particular frequency, forms in *-a-yai-* (§ 24, 2, a) are separately listed.

Examples of *-yai-*, *-qai-*, *-ηqai-* TO HAVE are:

punqu-^s horse (owned)

ovi'-ini-^s stick-owned

tapa-^s knee

patci-ηwi- daughters (§ 48, 1, b)

impi-^s what

mon'w-^s nose

ayc-ⁿ tongue

wi'yi-ⁿ vulva

narc'c-ⁿ clothes

punqu'χwäwa-n-iani I shall have a horse

ovi'iniχaini I have a stick

tapa'zaini I have a knee

patci'wixai'p'ya' (he) had daughters

impi'xai' what hast thou?

mon'w'k'ai(y)anA he has a nose

ayc'ηqwaini I have a tongue

wi'yi'ηqai'p'ya' (she) had a vulva

nä' narc''ηqwa' I have clothes

An example of subordinate *-ka-q-u-* is:

piŋwa^{-s} wife

piŋwa'xa-q-U that (he) had as
(his) wife

Examples of *-a-γai-* TO HAVE, BE PROVIDED WITH (subordinate *-aγa-q-u-*) are:

o'xwi'vi- grass

o'xwi'vi'axa' to have grass

A'ta'vi- sand

A'ta'vi'axaiag-A it is sandy

po'w'- trails (§ 58, 2, b)

po'w'ayaip-i'ya' (country) had
trails (all over)

qam'i'xanu- jackrabbit-camp

qam'i'xanuayai'tuai' people (§ 29,
14) have a jackrabbit-camp

taŋwa- tooth

taŋwa'γax-qoaq-A that it (her
vulva) had teeth (< *taŋwa-*
aγa-q-o-)

Participial examples in *-kantī-*ⁿ, *-aγantī-*ⁿ are:

po'a-^s louse

po'dxantī having lice, lousy; plur.
po'ag-aγantimī several having
lice

pu(w)a-^s supernatural power

pu(w)a'γantī having supernatu-
ral power, medicine-man

naŋqava-^s ear

ava't-ia *nana'ŋqavaγantī* big
(obj.) ears (§ 58, 3, c) -having

soγo- moisture

soγo'aγantī having moisture,
moist

qam- house

qam'aγantī house-possessed-hav-
ing, camp, village

(c) *-γa-*, *-q-a-*, *-ŋqa-* TO ACQUIRE. Examples are:

qava-^s horse

wa'q-utcani qava'x-A two-objec-
tive-preterit-I horse-get, I re-
ceived two horses

uru'v-wi-^s stick for making arrow

uru'v-wi'xap-i'ya' got arrow-sticks

tūmp-wi-^s rock

tūmp-wi'k-ava-n-iani I shall get a
rock

*aγo-*ⁿ tongue

aγo'ŋqawava-n-iani I shall get a
tongue

(d) *-ru-* (*-tcu-* after *i*; *-ntcu-* after nasal + *i*), *-t-u-*, *-ntu-* TO MAKE, TO MAKE INTO. The idea of MAKING is sometimes used in a somewhat extended sense. Examples are:

atci^s bow
tīyī'avi^s deer-hide
paī'c'aya^s bridge

pa'na^s bread
quma^s husband

nāywi^s person

impī^s what
'āic-i^s basket

qani^s house
piyī^s heart
*ovi*ⁿ wood
*taṇwa*ⁿ tooth

atci'ruw'a'n-i will make a bow
tīyī'avurup'īya^s made a deer-hide
paī'c'azaruqwap'īya^s several
 made (it) into a bridge
pa'naruī^s makes bread
quma'ruyīaṇA (she) husband-
 makes, marries him

nāywu'runi to person-make me,
 consider me a person
impū'ruyīaṇA what is he making?
'āic'icuw'a'n-i will make a
 basket

qani'ntcupīya^s made a house
piyī't-ūi^s makes a heart
ovi'ntuw'a'n-i will make wood
nī' taṇwa'ntuṇuag'A I made a
 tooth out of it

(e) *-a-* TO PUT ON FOR WEAR, TO WEAR. Examples are:

maavi^s clothes

qarīn'impī^s saddle

'a'n-u'ci^s harness
qay(ε)i^s necklace

maa'vī'ai^s puts on (his) clothes;
maa'vī'aṇU to be dressed up
qarī'n'impīat-ūi^s saddles (a horse;
-t-ūi- causative, § 29, 12)
'a'n-u'ciat-ūi^s harnesses (a horse)
qay(ε)'i'ai^s puts necklace (or
 collar) around (one's neck);
tA^sqa'xi'ai^s loops around the
 feet (or ankles)

(f) *-ru'a-n* (*-tcu'a-n* after *i*; *-ntcu'a-n* after nasal + *i*), *-tu'a-n*, *-ntu'a-n* TO BECOME, TURN INTO. This suffix is appended to both noun and adjective-verb stems. Examples are:

pu(w)a^s supernatural power

qava^s horse

yuu^s grease, *yuu'xwantī* fat (adj.)
yua^s level, plain

pu(w)a'r'uai^s turns into a medi-
 cine-man, commences to be a
 medicine man

qava'ru'ayuntca-ṇA he became a
 horse

yuu'ru'ap'īya^s got fat
yuyu'a'r'uaṇqu^s (it) would be-
 come level

aŋqa^{-s} red
qanu^{-s} house
tu^{-s} black
ɔv⁻ⁿ stick

aŋqa^{-r}*'uai*['] turns red
qanu^{'ntcu}*aŋu* to become a house
tu^{'t-u}*aŋu*^{pi}*ya*['] turned black
ɔv^{'ntu}*aŋuntca*^{ŋA} he became a stick

(g) *-ru*^{'i-n} (*-tcu*^{'i-n} after *i*), *-t*^{'u}*i-n, *-ntu*^{'i-n} TO BECOME, TURN INTO. This suffix, which is evidently closely related to the preceding, is used with verb stems, particularly such as relate to time and the weather, less often with noun stems. Examples are:*

turywa^{-s} to be dark, night

turywa^{'ru}*'nti* becoming night, at night

tɔmɔ^{-s} to be winter

tɔmɔ^{'r}*'unt*ⁱ commencing winter

tam^{-a}^{-s} to be spring

tam^{-a}^{'r}*'unt*ⁱ commencing spring;
ɔmɔ^{'t}*am*^{-a}^{'r}*uŋqu* when (it) becomes early in spring, early in spring

nana^{'p}^{itsi}- old man

nana^{'p}^{itcu}*ɔiŋum*^{intca}^ŋ^{'ɔai}['] he has already become an old man

tatca^{-s} to be summer

tatca^{'t}*'unt*ⁱ commencing summer

yiv^{ana}^{-s} to be autumn

yiv^{ana}^{'n}*Atu*^{nti} commencing autumn

n̄ia⁻ to blow

n̄i(*γ*)^{'a}^{'t}^{'u}*'nti* commencing to blow, wind

n̄iv^a^{'uŋwa}⁻ to snow

n̄iv^a^{'uŋwa}^{'unt}^{uŋwani} snow-commencing-possessed-my, snow belonging to me

turyu⁻ⁿ to be clear weather

turyu^{'ntu}^{uŋqu}^{-v}^{'q}^{WA} it would clear up

qa⁻ to sing

qa^{'ntu}^{ntu}^{'wa}^{ŋA} sing-commencing-possessed-his, song belonging to him

(h) *-ya*^{-s}, *-q*^{-a}^{-s}, *-ŋqa*^{-s} adjective-verb suffix. This suffix makes verbs of being out of adjective-verb stems, e. g. from *aŋqa* RED (cf. *aŋqa* in compounds and *aŋqa*^{-r}*'ua* TO TURN RED) is formed *aŋqa*^{-ya} TO BE RED. It is particularly common with adjective-verb stems indicating color; it may also make color-verbs out of noun stems. Most frequently it is used in its participial form, *-kari*⁻ⁿ. Examples are:

<i>tə'ca-s</i> to be white	<i>tə'ca'xarī</i> white
<i>sarwa-s</i> to be blue	<i>sarwa'xarī</i> blue
<i>wantsu-s</i> antelope	<i>wantsu'xarī</i> antelope-colored, light gray
<i>tcin'ka-s</i> to be rough	<i>tcin'ka'xarī</i> rough
<i>yu'mi-s</i> to be warm	<i>yu'mi'xarī pa'</i> warm water
<i>qu'tca-s</i> to be light gray; ashes (absolute <i>qu'tca'p'i</i>)	<i>qu'tca'q-arī</i> light gray
<i>to-s</i> to be black	<i>to'q-warī</i> black (probably coal- colored, cf. Fernandino <i>du-u-t</i> coal)
<i>qwi-s</i> smoke (in compounds)	<i>qwi'k-arī</i> smoke (as absolute noun)
<i>pa'i-n</i> to be smooth	<i>pa'i'iqarī</i> smooth
<i>sa-n</i> to be raw	<i>sa'iqaxo'oq-wa</i> when it is raw
<i>siu-n</i> to be light gray (like rabbit's eyes)	<i>siu'iqwarī</i> light gray and translucent

(i) *-ra-* adjective-verb suffix. This element is found only in a few stereotyped adjective-verbs, e. g.

<i>cī'pī-</i> cold (as noun, e. g. <i>cī'pī'-v^{wa}a'</i> cold water)	<i>cī'pī'rai'</i> (object) is cold
<i>yu'(w)a-</i> (cf. perhaps <i>yu'mi-</i> under h)	<i>yu'(w)a'rai'</i> (it) is warm weather

(j) *Isolated elements.* One or two isolated verbalizing (or verb) suffixes that can not well be classified are given here. *-tca-* occurs in:

<i>naŋqa-va-</i> ear; <i>naŋqa-</i> to hear	<i>naŋqa'tca-q'ai-</i> to listen (for resultative <i>-q'ai-</i> , see § 30, 9); <i>nana'iqatca'q'aiva'</i> (they) will listen
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-tci- (two-moraed) occurs in:

<i>nīntci'-ya-</i> to shake (duratively; for <i>-ya-</i> see § 30, 1)	<i>nīntci't-ci'</i> shakes; <i>nīntci't-ci'-p'īya'</i> shook; <i>nīntci't-cuq-upi-ya'</i> started to shake
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(2) *Elements suffixed to demonstrative stems.* For demonstrative stems *a-*, *i-* (*i'*), *ma-* (*m^{wa}a'*), and *u-* (*u'*) see § 43.

(a) *-ro'a-* TO BE; makes substantive verbs from demonstrative *a-* and *u-*, e. g. *aro'a-* TO BE (visible subject). Substantive verbs are dealt with in § 56.

(b) *-n'i-* TO ACT, DO, BE. This suffix makes verbs of action or manner out of demonstrative stems, also out of interrogative *aya-*, e. g. *an-i-* TO DO SO, TO ACT THUS; *ayan-i-* TO DO WHAT? TO ACT HOW? For examples see § 43, 3. These verbs are often used absolutely as adverbs of manner, e. g. *aya'ni* HOW?

(c) *-n'i-* (*-n'i'i-*) verbalizing suffix appended to demonstrative stem + postposition (see § 43, 1). From *iva-* THIS-AT, HERE, e. g., is formed *iva-n'i-* TO BE HERE. It is possible that this element is identical with continuative *-n'i-* (§ 30, 12); both are two-moraed. Examples are:

iva-, *ivä-* here

ivä-'n'iyini here-be-present-I,
I stay right here; *ivä-'n'ia'η'a-*
xain-i *WA²q'i'k'²A* here-be-a- (§
19, 3, a)-he-indeed hither-go,
he was coming here

(u)*m'α'va-* there

waa(i)y (u)*m'α'va-n'ik'a'* two
there-be-perfective, two have
been there

(d) *-q-a-* TO GO; makes verbs of movement out of independent adverbs and demonstrative stems + postposition (cf. c above). Examples are:

WA²q'i'- hither

WA²q'i'k'a'²ηA he is coming
(< *-q-a-ηηa-*)

tiv'wai- down

tiv'wa'ik'²A to go down (away
from one)

tii- up

tii'ik'²A to go up (away from
one)

i(y)u'p'a- through here

i(y)u'p'aq-an-i I went through
here

u'a'xaruxwa- through it

u'a'xaruxwaq'A goes through the
(house)

§ § 27-34. Verb suffixes.

§ 27. General remarks.

The suffixes added to verb stems or verbalized bases (see § 26) may be grouped into six distinct classes: suffixes of movement, of voice, of verbal aspect, of plurality, of tense, and of mode. Many of these may be considered as more properly formal than derivative in character, but the line is in any case not easy to draw.

§ 28. Suffixes of movement.

In origin these are in all probability verb stems that have become specialized as second members of verb + verb compounds (§ 18, 2, a). This appears quite plausible in view of the fact that several verb stems of movement (e. g. *paγ(a)i-n* TO GO, *pa(i)yi-* TO RETURN) are frequently used in composition in a quasi-formal sense.

(1) *-γwa'ai-s*, *-q'wa'ai-s*, *-ηqwa'ai-s* TO GO WHILE -ING, TO MOVE. This is generally used only in verbs whose animate subject is singular. For corresponding plurals the compounded verb-stem *-m'ia-* SEVERAL MOVE is used (for examples see § 18, 2, a). Examples of *-γwa'ai-s* are:

<i>nontsi-s</i> to fly	<i>nontsi'xw'a.i'</i> goes flying, flies away
<i>wini-</i> to stand, be stationed	<i>wini'xw'aip'iya'</i> was stationed as (he) moved
<i>ai-s</i> to say	<i>a'ixw'aip'iya'</i> said as (he) went
<i>yaγwi-s</i> to carry	<i>yaγwi'xw'aip'iya'</i> went carrying

Of *-q'wa'ai-s*:

<i>pa(i)yi-o</i> to return	<i>pa(i)yi'q-w'a.i'</i> return-goes, goes back
<i>min'ic-i-o</i> to return, turn back	<i>min'ic'qw'aip'iya'</i> went returning home
<i>'am-u'xupa-o</i> (to go) past them	<i>'am-u'xupa(·)'q'wainup'iya'</i> went past them
<i>tu'uma-o</i> to take (several objects)	<i>tu'u'ma'qwai'p'iya'</i> went and took (several objects)

Of *-ηqwa'ai-s*:

<i>NU²qwi-n</i> to run	<i>NU²qwi'ηqw'a.i'</i> goes running, runs off
<i>paγ(a')i-n</i> to go	<i>paγ(a')iηqw'a.i'</i> walks off
<i>tA'ci'a-n</i> to dawn	<i>tA'ci'anhqwa'aix-U</i> when (it) dawn-goes, when dawn approaches
<i>tA'ci'pa-n</i> to be evening	<i>tA'ci'p'anhqwai'ix-U</i> as evening approaches
<i>tuγwa'-r'ui-n</i> to get dark	<i>tuγwa'r'uηqw'aix-U</i> when (it) commenced to get dark
<i>u'urai-n</i> (to go) towards it	<i>u'u'raiηqw'aip'iya'</i> went towards it

The idea of GOING, as some of these examples show, shades off into that of BECOMING.

(2) *-q'wa'ai-*^s (TO MOVE) OFF, AWAY. This is evidently nothing but a specialized use of the geminated form of the preceding suffix. It occurs, however, after spirantizing and nasalizing as well as after geminating stems and is clearly felt as a distinct, though related, element. Examples are:

<i>paɣ(ɛ)i-</i> ⁿ to go (see a above)	<i>paɣ(ɛ')iq'w'aitcarəa-ŋA</i> did he go away?
<i>ya-</i> to carry (one object)	<i>ya'q'waip'ĩɣa'aik-wA</i> carried it away
<i>tsip-i-</i> to appear, emerge	<i>ts'pi'k-w'aiŋupĩɣa'</i> went right through beyond
<i>tɔɣq-wi-</i> to run	<i>tɔɣo'q-wiqwa'aiɣĩaŋA</i> he runs off
<i>wa'ani-</i> ^s to yell (e. g. <i>wa'a'ŋu-xwa'a.i'</i> yells as he goes)	<i>wa'a'ŋiqwa'aiŋU</i> to call out while going past

Quite often *-q'wa'ai-*^s OFF is used in a secondary sense to indicate completion (cf. English TO DIE OFF), e. g.:

<i>ya'ai-</i> to die, be dying	<i>ya'a'ik-w'o'aivä'</i> die-off-shall, let him die
<i>pa²qa-</i> to kill	<i>pa²qa'q-w'o'aiŋUqwaenI</i> when I kill off, when I have killed (but also <i>pa²qa'q-w'ai-</i> to kill while on one's way)
<i>cu(w)a-</i> to consume	<i>cu(w)a'q'waaix-U</i> while eating (it) up
<i>'a'nu-</i> to be silent	<i>'a'nu'uk-w'o'aiŋUqwa-q.A</i> as soon as it became silent

Another common development in meaning is that of continuance or duration (cf. English TO COUNT OFF, TO WORK AWAY), e. g.:

<i>yaya-</i> to cry	<i>yaxa'q'wə.i'</i> cries away, cries without interruption
<i>ampaɣa-</i> to talk	<i>ampa'xqwa'a.i'</i> talks away, keeps on talking
<i>tĩ'qa-</i> to eat	<i>tĩ'qa'q-w'oivä-nI</i> I'll eat away. I'll keep on eating

(3) *-ɣwa'ai-* TO GO IN ORDER TO. This element also is evidently merely a specialized use of the spirantized form of (a). Examples are:

<i>qu'qwi-</i> to shoot	<i>qu'qwi'xw'ɔiva-n'iani</i> I shall go in order to shoot
<i>uru'v'w'ɣa-</i> to get arrow-sticks	<i>uru'v'w'ixw'ai'i</i> go and get arrow- sticks
<i>ya-</i> to carry (cf. under b)	<i>ya'xw'ai'ɣwa</i> go and fetch him
<i>ani-</i> to do so	<i>ani'xw'aip'ɣa'</i> went and did so

In many cases it is not easy to be clear as to whether examples of *-qwa'ai-* and *-ɣwa'ai-* are to be classed under (a) or under (b) and (c). It is highly probable that *-qwa'ai-* (b) and *-ɣwa'ai-* (c) are related to each other as momentaneous and durative (see § 53, 2, b for momentaneous gemination). The two uses of *-ɣwa'ai-*, WHILE GOING and TO GO IN ORDER TO, are reflected in its plural correspondent *-m'ia-*, e. g. *qa'm'ia-* SEVERAL SING WHILE ON (THEIR) WAY and SEVERAL GO IN ORDER TO SING.

(4) *-m'mia-* CONTINUOUS MOTION. This element, which is perhaps etymologically connected with plural *mia-* SEVERAL TRAVEL, is very similar in significance to *-kwa'ai-* (a) and to compounded *-paɣ(a)i-* WHILE JOURNEYING. The idea of continuity, however, seems to be more explicit. Moreover, the movement referred to is not necessarily the straight-line movement of normal walking or travel, but may be the periodic movement say of dancing. Examples are:

<i>po'ya-</i> to run	<i>po'yam'mua.i'</i> goes running, keeps on running
<i>qa-</i> to sing	<i>qa'm'mua.i'</i> sings while moving along (e. g. in the round-dance)
<i>qari-</i> to sit, ride on horseback	<i>qari'm'mua.i'</i> keeps on riding
<i>U'tcu'm'mi²ka-</i> several have (their) eyes closed	<i>U'tcu'm'mi²kam'muava'</i> (ye) shall have (your) eyes closed as (ye) dance
<i>yaɣwi-</i> to carry	<i>yaɣwi'm'muap'ɣa'</i> carried along
<i>wi'i-</i> to dance	<i>wi'i'm'iap'ɣa'</i> danced back and forth
<i>pīnu-</i> to look	<i>pīnu'm'muai'</i> looks while walking
<i>fiw'ai-</i> (to go) west	<i>fiw'a'im'muap'ɣa'</i> travelled west- ward

For *-muk-u-*, the inceptive form of this suffix, see § 30, 8.

(5) *-γi-s*, *-k-i-s*, *-ηki-s* TO COME WHILE -ING. This suffix is the correlative of (1). Examples of *-γi-s* are:

nontsi-s to fly
qari-s to ride

nontsi'χi' comes flying
qari'χi' comes riding

Of *-k-i-s*:

pa(i)yi-s to return
ya-s to carry
ya-ηqi- to carry to
watci- to put

pa(i)yu'k-i' comes back
ya'q'i(y)aq-A bring it (back)
ya'ηqik-i to bring to
watci'k:χaini having put me
away and come off

cim'wia- to leave

cim'w'iA²qitcaηw-A left him and
came (back)

nim'w'atcurywa- (to go) to us
(excl.)

nim'w'atcurw-Aqi' comes to visit
us

Of *-ηki-s*:

paγ(a)i-n to walk
po-ya-n to run
moi-n to lead

paγ(a')iηki' comes walking
po'yaηqip-i'γa' came running
mox'ηkitcimi those who come
leading

It seems quite likely that, analogously to *-q-wa'ai-* (b), *-k-i-s* is used after all types of stems to indicate TO COME AWAY; it would be the momentaneous correlate of durative *-γi-s* (6). Some of the above examples suggest this.

(6) *-γi-s* TO COME IN ORDER TO, analogously to *-γwa'ai-* (3).

qa- to sing
ya- to carry

qa'χi' comes to sing
ya'x'ikaa'i' has come to get (cf.
ya-q-i- to come carrying, to
bring)

no- to carry on one's back

no'χwianηA come to carry him (cf.
no'q-wianηA come carrying
him)

to'wivōra- to dig up bulrushes

to'wivōraxip-i'γa' came to dig up
bulrushes

§ 29. Suffixes of voice.

There are two groups of suffixed elements that indicate voice, i. e. direction of action with reference to subject, object, or indirect object. The first group (1-9) is a primary series that is not freely used; that is closely welded with the verb stem (often with internal stem changes); that occurs in contrasting pairs of mediopassive (or intransitive) and active (or transitive); and that, for the most part, involve at the same time other ideas than that of voice, namely verbal aspect (see 3 below) and number. This group will be only listed here for convenience of reference and taken up later under other headings. The second group (10-14) is used with great freedom and indicates voice relations of a somewhat more external sort. Suffixes of the latter sort are often appended to the former.

(1) *-qi-* mediopassive (intransitive) suffix of momentaneous aspect and singular number (see § 30, 3).

(2) *-γi-*, (*-γγi-*) mediopassive (intransitive) suffix of iterative-durative aspect (see § 30, 2).

(3) *-ya-* mediopassive (intransitive) suffix of durative aspect (see § 30, 1).

(4) *-tai-* mediopassive (intransitive) suffix of primarily durative aspect and of plural number (see § 31, 2, a).

(5) *-na-* transitive suffix of durative aspect and singular number of object (see § 31, 2, b).

(6) *-n'na-* transitive suffix of momentaneous aspect and singular number of object (see § 31, 2, c).

(7) *-ta-* transitive suffix of plural number of object (see § 31, 2, d).

(8) *-a-* final stem vowel indicating active voice (see § 53, 1, d); correlative of *-i-* (9).

(9) *-i-* final stem vowel indicating inactive voice (see § 53, 1, d); correlative of *-a-* (8).

(10) *-γγi-*^o transitive or activating suffix appended to verbs of primarily mediopassive aspect. It is particularly common with preceding *-qi-*, *-γi-* (1 and 2 above) and generally occurs with an instrumental prefix in the verb (§ 21). Before it mediopassive *-i-* (see 9 above) sometimes becomes active *-a-* (8); an *-a-* of the active stem

is lengthened to *-a-*. No doubt it is a specialized use of indirective *-ŋq̃i-^o* (see 11 below). Examples are:

<i>tA'pi'tca-</i> to crush by trampling	<i>tA'pi''tcAqŋq̃i'q-wA</i> to crush it (cause it to become crushed) by trampling
<i>m̃n'ic-i-</i> to turn, roll over (intrans.)	<i>maŋw̃i'n'icŋq̃iaŋA</i> to roll him over (lit., with the hand)
<i>tayu'm'muxwi</i> to be poking with the foot	<i>tayu'm'MU²quwŋq̃i</i> to poke, kick, spur on with the foot
(-putsiŋi-)	<i>q̃i'pu'tsuxŋq̃i</i> to crush between one's teeth
<i>w̃i-i-</i> to fall	<i>tsuŋw̃i''ŋq̃i</i> to knock down with a stick
<i>yaug-wi-</i> to go in (momentaneous)	<i>may'a'U²quwŋq̃i'</i> pushes in
<i>ɔp'a'q'(a)i-</i> to have a hole, be perforated (in one place)	<i>tas'p'A²qa-ŋq̃i</i> to kick a hole into
<i>to-q-wi-</i> to stretch (intrans.),	<i>maru'x'qwa-ŋq̃ip'ŋai(y)aq'A</i> stretched it
<i>to-q-wa-</i> (trans.)	<i>mar'i'ŋwa-ŋq̃ip'ŋa'</i> shut with (his) hands
<i>f̃iŋwa-</i> to close (trans.)	

(11) *-ŋq̃i-^o* indirective: TO, FOR. This extremely common suffix expresses dative or indirective relations and may be rendered TO, FOR, FROM, WITH, AGAINST. The indirect object is always animate. Examples are:

<i>ya-</i> to carry	<i>ya'ŋq̃ik-I</i> to bring to
<i>uni-</i> to do, make	<i>uni'ŋk̃ip'ŋa'</i> made (it) for (him)
<i>a'ŋawantci-</i> to hide	<i>a'ŋawantciŋq̃im^wi'</i> has been hiding from (him)
<i>U²quw̃i'yuru-</i> to make a bow and arrows	<i>U²quw̃i'yuruŋqup'ŋa'</i> made a bow and arrows for
<i>naŋqa'tca-q'ai-</i> to listen	<i>naŋqa'tcaŋq̃iqaiŋaiŋA</i> listens for, instead of him
<i>to-q-wa-</i> to bet	<i>to'q-waŋq̃iy'ŋwA</i> bets against him
<i>mantcu''aik'ai-</i> to wait	<i>mantcu''aiŋq̃iqai(y)αŋA</i> wait for him
<i>sa'a-</i> to make mush	<i>sa'a'ŋq̃ini</i> make mush for me
<i>qa-</i> to sing	<i>qa'ŋq̃itu'a(i)ỹini</i> I sing for people (indef.; see 14 below), I sing with them

The idea of FOR quite often leads to the "ethical dative." In such cases the person of the indirect object is not really affected by the action at all but is merely interested in it. Such ethical datives with first person indirect object are frequently employed to indicate an affectionate attitude on the part of the speaker, e. g.:

axa'n-ĩngĩũqwaĩyun-i' ani'k-a' what-do-for-momentaneous-resultative-subordinate-me-thou do-so? what happened to you for me? what, pray, did you do that . . . ?
pən-i'avĩn- anĩ naza-'aŋ'wĩnũqĩ skunk-blanket-my it be-clothed-stand-for (me), stand clothed in my skunk-blanket for me, please stand clothed in my skunk-blanket
naya'i' aiũ-ũngĩaŋanĩ cause him to get angry for me, (you, who are dear to me,) make him angry

With this last example (*-t-ũ-ĩngĩ-* TO CAUSE FOR as ethical dative) contrast *naya'p-a-ĩngĩũp-ĩŋa'* CAUSED (THEM) TO APPEAR.

In a considerable number of cases the indirective *-ĩngĩ-*^o has grown so to the stem as to give a new meaning in which the indirective idea is not very prominent, e. g.:

<i>pitci-</i> to arrive	<i>pitci'ĩngĩ-</i> to arrive to, engage with (cf. also <i>ũni-vĩci-</i> to do-arrive, attack)
<i>nayũq-wi-</i> to reciprocally-shoot	<i>nayũ'q-wĩngĩ-</i> to fight
<i>tua-</i> to give birth	<i>nĩntũ'aŋqĩ-</i> to person-bear-to, give birth to

(12) *-t-ũ-* causative, freely suffixed to both transitive and intransitive verbs. Examples are:

<i>A'pũ-</i> to sleep	<i>A'pũ'i'tui'</i> puts to sleep
<i>qa-</i> to sing	<i>qa't-ũni</i> make me sing
<i>tĩŋai-</i> to take place	<i>tĩŋa'i'tuiŋĩ'q-wa</i> to bring it about
<i>'aiyu-</i> to be good	<i>nam-ĩ' aiũtũĩngũp-ĩŋa'</i> first caused to be good, first resuscitated
<i>aaq-i-</i> to spill (intrans.)	<i>aa'q-ĩtũĩvaA²qa-ŋa</i> he'll spill it
<i>na'ai-</i> to burn (intr.)	<i>na'a'it-ũ-</i> to make a fire
<i>pĩn-</i> to see	<i>pĩn'i't-ũk-a'</i> (he) let (him) see (it)

For passives of causatives and causatives of passives, see (13) below. Much less frequently *-t-ũ-* makes causatives out of nouns, e. g.:

<i>tsi'a'mpyua-</i>	wild-rose plain	<i>tsd'mpyua-t-up-ïya'</i>	caused wild-rose plain to be
<i>qan-i-</i>	house + possessive <i>-a-</i>	<i>qan-i'Atuip-ïya'</i>	caused (it) to have houses

A few survivals seem to indicate that *-t-ui-* is but the geminated form of an older variable *-r-ui-*, *-t-ui-*, *-ntui-*, which has become generalized for all cases. There seems also to have been an alternation between momentaneous *-t-ui-* and urative *-r-ui-* (see § 53, 2, b). An example of causative *-ntui-* is *'a'c'intui-* TO LIKE. Causative *-r-ui-* (durative) is exemplified in *iyä'r-ui-* TO CAUSE TO BE AFRAID, TO FRIGHTEN; with this contrast momentaneous *iyä't-ui-* TO FRIGHTEN (at one moment of time).

(12a) *-n-i-* causative. This element occurs so uncommonly that it has not been found possible to determine its precise application. Examples are:

<i>yu'u'runip-ïyai(y)aq'aŋa</i>	leg-make-causative-past-it (vis.)-he (vis.),
	he made a leg out of it
<i>naŋwï'q'a'munip-ïya'</i>	self-cover-causative-past, covered (him)self
	(with leaves) (cf. <i>wï'qa'm-i'</i> covers, tr.)
<i>NA'so'xo'ma'nap-ïya'</i>	covered (him)self with moist ground, dirt (cf.
	also <i>NA'so'xu'map-ïya'</i> covered self with dirt)

In the last two examples, which are provided with reflexive prefixes, it is to be noted that the reflexive is better considered the logical object of the causative suffix than of the verb; e. g. HE CAUSED HIMSELF TO BE COVERED, not HE CAUSED TO COVER HIMSELF. Contrast, with ordinary causative *-t-ui-* (12), *naŋ'ituiŋ-ai(y)aŋani* HE CAUSED ME TO SEE HIMSELF, not HE CAUSED HIMSELF TO SEE ME. Possibly *-n-i-* is best defined as an indirect causative, like *-ŋq-i-* (10, 11), whose *-ŋ-* is perhaps a reduced form of *-n-i-*; e. g. HE MADE IT INTO A LEG, HE COVERED TO HIMSELF.

(13) *-t-i-* passive; sometimes heard as *-t-i-*, but always two-moraed. This suffix is freely used to make true passives out of transitive verbs. Examples are:

<i>tana-</i>	to hit, punch	<i>tana't-i-ïv'a-n-iani</i>	I shall be hit
<i>pa²qa-ŋu-</i>	to kill	<i>pa²qa'ŋuti'qag-a'</i>	(they) have been killed
<i>ivi-c-ua-ŋu-</i>	to drink up	<i>pa' wi'c-uaŋutizqa'</i>	water has-been-drunk-up

taŋa- to kick

taŋa't-ṭ'q-atcarayWA we were all
kicked

ynivitci- to attack

yni'vitci-ṭ'ya' when being attack-
ed

sa'pi'χa- to overcome

sa'pi'χ'Atirī one who is overcome

qo'oi- to kill several

qo'o'it-ṭ-rim'čA those (obj) who
are killed

The last two examples illustrate passive participles in *-ṭ-ṭ-rī-* (cf. § 25, 6, a). These differ from passive participles in *-pi-* and *-p-ṭ-* (§ 25, 5) in referring to passing or non-characteristic states. Contrasting with *sa'pi'χ'Atirī*, for instance, is *sa'pi'χam'ip-1* ONE WHO IS ALWAYS OVERCOME (*-m-i-* is usitative, § 30, 10).

Passives may be readily formed from causatives, e. g. *ivi't-uinṭi-tea-ŋA* DRINK-CAUSE-MOMENTANEOUS-PASSIVE-PRETERIT- HE, HE WAS CAUSED TO DRINK. Here the causative suffix precedes the passive, as is to be expected. Curiously enough, the same order is followed in causatives of passives, an indirective *-ŋqī-* coming in between the causative suffix and the passive *-ṭ-ṭ-*, e. g.:

maad'it-uinṭiṭi-v'a-ŋarayWA catch-cause-to-passive-shall-he-us, he will
get us caught (lit., he will cause to us to be caught)

pa'q'a'ntuinṭiṭi-tea-ŋA kill-cause-to-passive-prerit-him, (he) caused
him to be killed (for *-ntui-* cf. 12 above)

In other words, the passive suffix can not precede the causative. In the preceding examples the indirective is required to point to the logical object as the indirect object, the passive of the verb itself being apparently conceived of as the direct object, e. g. HE WILL-CAUSE-BEING-CAUGHT TO-US. That these forms are causatives of passives, not, as would be inferred from their appearance, passives of causatives, is proved by the absence of a plural subjective *-q-a-* (see § 31, 1, c) in the first form above; this would be required if the form were to be understood as WE SHALL BE CAUSED TO BE CAUGHT BY HIM.

(14) *-ṭ-u'a-* (*-ṭ-ua-*) impersonal. Verbs with impersonal subject or, less often, object refer either to an indefinitely defined person or to a collectivity, people in general. In the latter case, if used subjectively, it may be preceded by the pluralizing *-q-a-* (§ 31, 1, c). The impersonal suffix is often employed as the equivalent of the passive, never simultaneously with it. It follows perfective *-q'ai-* and narrative preterit *-p-i(a)ŋai-*, but precedes present *-yī-* and future *-va(n'ia)-* (see § 34). Curiously enough, present *-yī-* regularly

follows *-t-u'-a-* even in preterit tense forms (cf. also *-p'ia-γai-t-ua-yi-*; § 32, 8). As already noted (§ 19, 2, e), it is frequently accompanied by enclitic *-n-oa-*. Examples of subjective *-t-u'-a-* are:

- pA'qa'γutua(i)yiaηA* kill-momentaneous-impersonal-present-him, they (indef.) kill him, he is being killed
pA'pa'q-Aqwa'iqup'γai'tua(i)yiamĩ kill (distributive)-go-momentaneous-past-impersonal-present-them, people went to kill them
pA'qa'ηUqwa'tua(i)yiaηA kill-momentaneous-perfective-impersonal-present-him, they (indef.) killed him, he was killed
tav't-ua'amı hit-impersonal-thee, you (were) hit (by somebody)
un't-uava-qA do-impersonal-shall-it, let some one do it
nĩ' pĩn'k'a.i iwi't-u'a I see drink-impersonal, I see some one drinking
tĩ'qa'q-Atuayĩr'uon-uaxain-i' eat-plural-impersonal-present-interrogative-indefinite-indeed, it seems that people are eating

As impersonal object *-t-u'-a-* seems to be used only indirectly after *-ηqĩ-*, e. g.:

- qa'ηqĩtu'a(i)yĩni* sing-to-impersonal-present-I, I sing with them (indef.)
naγu'q-wηqĩt-u'a(u)xU fight-to-impersonal-when, when fighting (with people)
nĩ' o'p'a' ani'ηqĩtuaxw'niwa' I that-way do-to-impersonal-go-shall, I shall go to engage one thus
yaa'iqĩtuap'γa' hunt-to-impersonal-past, was hunting with the rest
naia'ηwηqĩt-uag'Ap'γa' play-hand-game-to-impersonal-plural-past, (they) played the hand game with people, the hand game was played with them

These examples show that *-ηqĩ-t-ua-* generally denotes coöperation with a group. Moreover, the two suffixes form a close unit, as they occur before elements that would normally precede *-t-u'-a-* alone (e. g. *-γw'ai-* TO GO TO, narrative preterit *-p'γai-*, plural subject *-q-a-*); see above examples.

§ 30. Suffixes of verbal aspect.

By "aspect," a term borrowed from Slavic grammar, is here meant the temporal range of the action, i. e. its definition with respect to such concepts as momentaneousness, durativeness, inception, iteration. These and like concepts have no primary connection with the concept of relative time, which is the province of the temporal suffixes (§ 32).

Among the ideas expressed by aspect suffixes, those of momentaneousness and durativeness are the most important. Every verb has a durative and a momentaneous form, the former being generally the primary form of the verb, the latter expressed by internal consonant gemination, glottalization, reduplication, the suffixing of certain elements, or a combination of these. The durative, as its name implies, expresses continuous action, action conceived of as lasting for an appreciable length of time (e. g. TO DRINK); the momentaneous conceives of the action as taking but a moment of time (e. g. TO TAKE A DRINK). Following are a few preliminary examples of the distinction:

DURATIVE	MOMENTANEOUS
<i>qov'q-wi-</i> to break	<i>qo'po'q-wi-</i>
<i>naya'va-</i> to seem	<i>naya'p'a-nu-</i>
<i>mantcu'wi-na-</i> to crush	<i>mantcu'q-wi-n'na-</i>
<i>yaya'-</i> to cry	<i>yaya'ya-</i> to burst into tears
<i>ivi'-</i> to drink	<i>ivi'-nu-</i>
<i>qwate'a'-ya-</i> to splash about	<i>qwa'tea'-q-i-</i> to splash (once)
<i>tīyai-</i> to take place	<i>tī'qa'j'wi-</i>
<i>nontsi'-</i> to fly	<i>nontsi'-k-u-</i>

The various methods of forming the momentaneous exemplified above are to be considered as more or less equivalent. No simple rules can be given for all cases. One simply has to learn, e. g., that such a form as **yaya'ηupīya'* is not in use, but that *yaya'x-apīya'* must be employed.

The aspects that may be recognized in Paiute are the durative, the momentaneous, the inceptive, the iterative, the durative-iterative, the resultative, the usitative, and the continuative. Moreover, ideas that belong to the category of aspect are sometimes expressed by means of compounded verb-stems or suffixes of motion (e. g. the cessative by *-maup'a-*, § 18, 2, a; the continuative or durative by *-qari-* TO SIT, *-q'wa'ai-* TO GO OFF, § 28, 2). A careful study of the nuances of aspect formation can hardly be given here. We shall simply list the various aspect suffixes with examples. For momentaneous (and inceptive) verbs formed by gemination or glottalization, see § 53, 2; by reduplication, § 58, 5. For iteratives formed by reduplication, with or without accompanying gemination, glottalization, or both, see § 58, 4.

(1) *-ya-^o* durative of active intransitive (mediopassive) verbs. By a mediopassive verb is meant one that expresses action without

definite agency, e. g. TO SHAKE (intr.), as contrasted with transitive TO SHAKE and passive TO BE SHAKEN. Sometimes *-γα-* seems to be used also with agentive active verbs. Examples of durative *-γα-* are:

nüntci'gai' (it) shakes
piyo'zwei' (he) drags (it); *piyo'x Aqlp'i'ga'aiηWA* he came home
 dragging (it)
yi'u'χwai' moves around
yu'mu'x(w)Ap'i'ga' (he) moved
qumpu'χwai' (it) wiggles
si'yu'χwai' slides

The momentaneous correlate of *-γα-* is *-qi-* (see 3 below).

The element *-γα^o* is very commonly employed in durative verbs expressing a continuous sound of some sort, e. g.:

ampa'γα- to talk
po'γux Ap'γain'i' there was a sound as of something going through
 (his) flesh (for *-nia-* in these and other *-γα-* verbs, see § 19, 2, d).
tūwa'vaga- to make a noise
ki'yuχwa(i)yin'i' makes a noise like rattling coins
pa'raxa(i)yin'i' (rain) patters
qu'pa'raxa- to pop in burning
po'n'noχwa(i)yin'i' sounds like drumming
no'ruχwa(i)yin'i' sounds like a heavy object being dragged on a
 smooth level surface
pi'ηkiχa(i)yin'i' sounds like dripping water
si'χazan'i'iyin'i' makes a rustling noise (for *-ni'i-*, see 12 below)

The momentaneous correlate of this *-γα-* also is *-qi-* (or *-ηqi-*).

(2) *-qi-*, (*-ηqi-*) durative-iterative, chiefly of active intransitive, sometimes transitive, verbs. It is often transitivized by means of *-ηqi-* (§ 29, 10). It differs from *-γα-* in conceiving of the action as not strictly continuous, but broken up into a rapid series. It differs from the normal iterative (expressed by reduplication) in that the repeated acts cohere into a single durative unit. Examples are:

taη'wi'teryi' keeps time by tapping with (his) foot
mavi'tsyi' claps hands
qini'p'uχwi' (mouse) gnaws
ta'pi'η'ana'χηqi'i' stamps (on the ground to make it smooth)
ta²qu'tsi'nuxu' puts feet into (shoes, stirrups)

mayu'm'muxwi' pokes with (his) finger
tan'i'ntēxi' keeps on shaking with (his) feet (cf. *nīntēya-* under a)
tA'q'u'uyiqap'iyā' (they) chipped (it) into small pieces
ov'o'q'way(ε)i' (it) bounces up and down (like a rubber ball)
tuv'a'γ'itcai- several pull out (intr.), emerge

Sound-verbs indicating a continuous series of sounds of like nature may also have the *-yi-* suffix, e. g.:

qu'pa'ra'χ(ε)ik'a- several pop (one after another)
wīnī'ruxwi- to make a noise on the rasp
wa'a'uxwi' barks
w'a'tevyup'iyā' (he) whooped

A few such verbs have *-ηqī-* instead of *-yi-*, e. g.:

pu'qwa'ainqūyīn'i' (he) pants
puŋ'wi'ηqūi' (mouse, rat) makes a peeping noise
ki(y)ε'ηqūi' laughs

(3) *-qi-* momentaneous, chiefly of active intransitive and medio-passive verbs. Transitive forms in *-qi-ηqī-*. Morphologically, *-qi-* is the regular momentaneous correspondent of *-yi-*, formed from it by gemination (§ 53, 2 b); it contrasts with both *-ya-* and *-yi-* forms. Examples of its use are:

tA'pi'teqiqū'q-wA to crush it by stepping on (it)
mī'na'q-1 (one thing) break(s) off
tanū'ntēiqiqūip'iyai(y)aq-A (he) shook it by trampling once with (his) feet
mava'tA'qinqūi' to burst by means of the hand
tA'q'u'uyiqūip'iyaiA'qa'mū they hit it so as to have (it) go to pieces
tu'pa'q-1p'iyā' (one) pulled out (intrans.), emerged
tō'pa'q-1 (one object) come(s) loose
si'yu'q-w1 to slide, slip

Midway between properly momentaneous forms in *-qi-* and durative forms in *-ya-* or *-yi-* are certain verbs in *-qi-* with non-momentaneous form of stem, i. e. with ungeminated consonant. These may be termed durative-momentaneous. Examples of durative-momentaneous versus momentaneous forms are:

qov'o'q-wi- to break (intr.): *qō'pō'q-wi-* to break instantaneously
pa'ya'q-(a)i- to tear slowly (but in one tear): *pa'qa'q-i-* to tear

In such verbs *-q-i-* does not seem to alternate with *-ya-* and *-yi-*.

Verbs indicating a momentaneous sound also have a *-q-i-* suffix, e. g.:

kɪʔk'a'q-in-i' (it) makes a sound as of when something is thrust through paper

sa'muʔqwiɣin-i' makes a deep noise as when a stone is thrown into a well

q̄i'k-in-i' (it) sounds like one tear of a rag

U'cu'q-wi' whistles

(4) *-n-a-* durative transitive with singular object: *-n'na-* momentaneous transitive with singular object. See § 31, 2, b and c.

(5) *-ɣu-ⁿ* momentaneous. This is by far the most common momentaneous suffix. It follows most verb stems and is also employed after many derivative and verbalizing suffixes. Examples are:

ivi- to drink

maain-i- to touch (duratively)

qwi-ⁿ to take (one object)

maa'v'a- to be dressed

aŋqa-^s to be red

pa(i)yi- to return

un-i- to do

tsip-i- to appear, emerge

ai- to say

ivi'ɣu to take a drink

maa'in-ɣu to touch (for a moment)

qwi'ɣu to pick up (one object)

maa'v'aɣu to dress (intrans.)

aŋqa'r'uaɣu to turn red

pa(i)yi'ɣupɪɣa' returned (conceived as non-durative act)

tcayɪ'p' ɣu'ɣupɪɣa' near did-momentaneously, got near

ts'p'ɣupɪɣa' came out, (suddenly) appeared

a'ɪɣupɪɣa' spoke out

In particular cases *-ɣu-ⁿ* may take on an inceptive or cessative significance, but its true force is never intrinsically inceptive or cessative. Examples of these developments of the primary momentaneous idea are:

(a) *tcɣɔq-wi-* to run

yaɣwi- to carry

ivi- to drink

cv'yu-c-u- (to be) one

tcɣɔ'q-wiɣwi' gets ready to run, starts to run

yaɣwi'ɣu to start to carry along

ivi'ɣuɣiɣa he is about to drink, *ivi'ɣuɣwa'* while about to drink

cv'yuɣuc-u to become one

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| (b) <i>cua-</i> to consume | <i>cua'numi'tsi'q-wA</i> after having finished eating it |
| <i>ivi-</i> to drink | <i>ivi'numta-ŋA</i> he (just) finished drinking |

These examples show that *-ŋu-* in the present (*-yi-*) may indicate a momentaneous (or inceptive) activity that is just about to take place (cf. the use of momentaneous forms in Russian to indicate the future). The idea of imminent activity is still more explicitly rendered by *-ŋuntsu-*, compound¹ of *-ŋu-* and diminutive *-(n)tsu-* (§ 35, 2). Thus, a form like *tī'qa'ŋuntsu-* EAT-MOMENTANEOUS (INCEPTIVE)-LITTLE, TO BE A LITTLE OFF FROM BEGINNING TO EAT, easily comes to mean TO BE ABOUT TO EAT. Examples of pre-inceptive *-ŋuntsu-* are:

- qu'qwi'ŋuntsu:k-ani* I am ready to shoot (for *-k-a-* see § 32, 2)
ya'uq-wuŋuntsik-ʔA (the sun) is about to set
A'pī'iyunts-k-ani I am about to fall asleep, I am sleepy

(6) *-ŋ'wi-* momentaneous (intransitive). This suffix, which may be related to *-ŋu-*, occurs only in two or three verbs, its durative correlative being a rarely occurring *-i-* or, in one case, *-q-a-*. These verbs are:

- | DURATIVE | MOMENTANEOUS |
|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>tīyai-</i> to take place | <i>tī'qan'wi-</i> |
| <i>piyai-</i> to be left over | <i>piyan'wi-</i> |
| <i>cuwaq-a-</i> to breathe | <i>cuwan'wi-</i> to take a long breath |

(7) *-q-u-*, *-q̣-u-* momentaneous; inceptive. This element, like *-ŋu-*, seems to be primarily momentaneous in significance and in a number of verbs is used instead of *-ŋu-*. Some verbs have both *-ŋu-* and *-q-u-* forms, generally with some idiomatic difference of meaning. In many cases, moreover, *-q-u-* is a properly inceptive element, as in durative-inceptive *-ya-q-u-*. What nuance of meaning differentiates *-q-u-* and *-q̣-u-* is not clear. Presumably *-q̣-u-* is more definitely momentaneous in character (see § 53, 2, a, 3); as inceptive it probably indicates a sharp moment of beginning.

Examples of momentaneous *-q-u-* are:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| <i>paʔqa-</i> to beat, kill | <i>paʔqa'q-u-</i> to give a licking: |
| | <i>paʔqa'ŋu-</i> to kill |
| <i>wi'i-</i> to fall | <i>wi'i'q-u-</i> to drop down, fall out |

tu'p^wi- to be used up
'i'(y)upa'- to go by here

tsip-i- to appear, emerge

ai- to say

nana- to grow up

tu'p^wi'k-u- to become used up
'i'(y)upa'q-U to have (just) gone by here

ts-pi'k-u- to ride (a horse): *ts-pi'ŋu-* to emerge

a'ik:A²qu- say-plural-momentaneous, each in his turn say(s)

nana'qumī- to finish growing, to have grown up (for *-mī-* see 13)

An inceptive meaning is more clearly discernible in:

no- to carry on one's back

ivi- to drink

marin'a- to chase

qa'qa'rī- to run away

yaŋwi- to carry

poro- several proceed

NU²qwi'- to flow

A'pi'i- to sleep

oroŋwi- to roar

qanintcu- to make a wickiup

maa'vī'a- to be dressed

ampa'ya- to talk

no'q-Upi'ya'aik-wA started to carry them on (his) back

ivi'k-u'ug-wA to start to drink it
mari'n'aq-U to (start to) chase, to give chase

qa'qa'rī'q-U to jump off to run away

yaŋ'wi'k-u'q-wA to take it away, carry it off

poru'q-Upi'ya' (they) started off
NU²qwi'k-Upi'ya' started to flow

A'pi'ik-ʒU to fall asleep

oro'ŋwik-U to start roaring

qanintcuqup-īya' started to make a wickiup

maa'vī'aq-U to begin to dress

ampa'xaq-U to begin to talk

Analogous to *-ŋuntsi-* (see 5) is *-q-untsi-*, which occurs less frequently. An example is:

nīntcī'yaq-U to begin to shake

nīntcī'x Aqu(·)ntsik-ʒA (it) is just about to shake

(7a) *-q-wi-*. This suffix seems to occur as a correlative to momentaneous *-q-u-* in *tu'p^wi-k-wi-* TO BE USED UP (cf. *tu'p^wi-k-u-* TO GET USED UP < *tup^wi-* TO BE USED UP, TO BE WITHOUT REMAINDER), e. g.: *tu'p^wi'k-wyāq-A* it is used up; *tu'p^wi'k-wtca-q-A* it has been used up; *nī' tu'p^wi'k-wituiq-wA* I cause them (inan.) to be used up, I use them up

(8) *-muk-u-* inceptive of verbs of continuous movement. The normal inceptive of *-m'mia-* (§ 28, 4) would be *-m'miaq-u-*, which is sometimes found, e. g.:

qa'mua- to sing along

qa''muaq-U to start singing

More typical, however, are forms in *-muk-u-*, e. g.:

qarim'mia- to ride along

qari'muk-U to ride off

A'si'a-RU²qwa-γim'mia- to move
along under the surface

A'si'a-RU²qwa-γimi'kup-īya' start-
ed to travel under the surface

qa'm'mia- to sing along

qa'm'rup-īya' started in to
sing (along)

yaḡwim'mia- to carry along

yqwi'mi'quaqa take and carry
it along

unum'mia- to do so while moving
along

umi'mi'qup-īya' started to move
on in so doing

(9) *-q'ai-* resultative. This suffix indicates a durative state or activity which is the result of the action predicated by the verb stem; e. g. TO HOLD as resultative of TO GRASP. Resultative verbs are very common in Paiute. Examples are:

tea'ai- to catch

tea'a'ik'ai- to hold (in one's
hand)

uḡwai- to hang (trans.)

uḡwa'ik'ai- to be hanging, to hang
(intr.)

maain-i- to touch

maa'ini'k'ai- to have one's hand
on

yaḡwi- to carry

yaḡwi'k'ai- to have in one's hand

wi'tu'v^wua- to cover

wi'tu'v^wuaq'ai- to have (one's
eyes, hands, or other part of
body) covered

qi'ca'ra- to open one's mouth

qi'ca'ra-q'ai- to have one's mouth
open

pin'nara- to spread one's legs
apart in bow-legged manner

pin'na'ra-q'ai- to stand bow-
legged

sotsi-ḡu- to take a peep

sotsi'k'ai- to peep (duratively)

fiya- to take place

fiya'i'k'ai- to continue

co-ya- to bend (intr.)

co'ik'ai- to be bent

*aya*n*-i-* to do in what manner?
how?

*aya'n*i*'k'ai-* to be how?

an-i- to do thus

ani'k'ai- to be thus, to remain so

The active participle of *-q-ai-* is *-q-anfi-* (cf. § 26, 1, a and b; § 25, 6, d), e. g.:

'a'uik'ai- to be silent *'a'uik'antfi* one who is silent

Before subordinating *-q-u-* (§ 55, 1, e) resultative *-q-ai-* appears as *-q-a-* (cf. § 26, 1, a and b), e. g.:

unik'ai- to be doing *unik'a-qoanA* while (he) was doing so to him

unt'nik'ai- to cause to be (do) so *unt'nik'a-qunWA* as he has caused to do so

Note that in causatives of resultatives, causative *-f'ui-* precedes resultative *-q-ai-* instead of following it, as one would logically expect; cf. causatives of passive verbs (§ 29, 13).

(10) *-m-i-n*, *-m-ia-* usitative. As its name implies, the usitative is used to indicate customary activity. The form in *-m-ia-* is used as a usitative present (without *-yi-* suffix; see § 32, 1), the form in *-m-i-n* in all other cases.

Examples of the usitative present in *-m-ia-* are:

ai- to say *a'im-ia* always says, is in habit of saying

NA'ci'm'ia- to forget *NA'ci'm'iamu(y)a-q-A* keeps forgetting it

aro'a- to be *aro'amiA* always is, is wont to be
ti'qa- to eat *ti'qa'mu(y)a'amü* they 2 are wont to eat

qan-ia- to house-have, dwell *qan-i'xaim-ia'mü* they 2 always live

Examples of *-m-i-n* are:

un- to do *un'im-pa-n-ianü* I shall always do so

avi- to lie down *avi'im-patci* having always been wont to lie down (apparently stresses duration of wonted act more than regular usitative participle *avi'atci* wont to lie down, § 25, 6, c)

tu'quw'ai- to be ashamed *tu'quw'aimnti* always being ashamed

<i>tu-w'ai-</i> to reject (a suitor)	<i>tu-w'aim-intl</i> always rejecting a suitor
<i>pilci-</i> to arrive	<i>pi'tcim-ink'a'</i> while wont to return
<i>ts-pigu-</i> to go out	<i>ts-pi'num-inkuqwa</i> each time that he went out (- <i>nu-m-i-n</i> momentaneous usitative)
<i>marya-</i> to give	<i>marya'mip'ya'</i> (he) used to give
<i>pa(i)yü-</i> to return	<i>pa(i)yü'num-ip'ya'</i> always returned
<i>nüv'a'tcuqwaq-i-</i> to come to me	<i>nüv'a'tcuqwaq-imiqwa'a</i> never to come to me

Beside usitative preterits in *-m-ip'ya-* are used also forms in *-m-inümp'ya-* (see 11 below); e. g. *yaa'imip'ya'* or *yaa'im-inümp'ya'* USED TO HUNT. It is not obvious what difference in meaning, if any, there is between usitative participles in *-vatci-* (§ 25, 6, c) and *-m-inti-*. Curiously enough, participles in *-ti-* may also be made usitative by suffixed *-m-ia-*, e. g.:

quna'qaxantim'ag-wa fire-plural-having-usitative-it, those who have it as fire

(11) *-n-i-n* usitative, used only before past passive participle *-p-i-* (§ 25, 5, b) and its temporal derivative *-p'ya-* (§ 32, 6). Contrary to phonetic rule, not *-n-ü-p-i'(yai)-* results, but *-n-ümp'i'(yai)-*.

Examples of usitative passive participial *-n-ümp'i-* are:

pünu'nu'inümp'ia (things) always seen about (obj.)
ma'in'ünümp'iq-wani my always saying it (song form)

The common use of *-n-ümp'i-* as a means of forming instrumental nouns has been already discussed (§ 25, 2).

Examples of *-n-ümp'ya-*, the usitative form of the narrative past, are:

<i>ynu-</i> to do	<i>ynu'nümp'ya'</i> kept doing
<i>uru'a-</i> to be	<i>uru'an'ümp'ya'</i> always was
<i>qari-</i> to sit, dwell	<i>qari'nümp'ya'</i> was living, dwelt (right along)
<i>ora-</i> to dig	<i>ora'n'ümp'ya'</i> used to dig

The suffix may be preceded, as we have already seen, by the common usitative suffix *-m-i-* (see 10 above). Examples of the combined *-m-inümp'ya-* are:

kwɪ'pa- to throw
ai- to say

kwɪ'pa'minimp̃ɣa' always threw
a'iminimp̃ɣa' always kept say-
 ing

aiŋu- to say (momentaneously) *a'ŋum-inimp̃ɣa'* said each time

There is little, if any, perceptible difference in usage between the forms *-mip̃ɣai-*, *-nimp̃ɣai-* and *-minimp̃ɣai-*. It may be pointed out, however, that *-nimp̃ɣai-* does not seem to occur after momentaneous *-ŋu-*, which requires a following *-m-i-*. This may imply that the *-n̄-*ⁿ usitative tends to have a more strictly durative character than *-m-i-*ⁿ, which in turn may have a momentaneous -iterative color.

(12) *-n'ni-* (*-n̄'i-*^s) continuative. This is a common durative suffix that, with verbs of movement, shades into a significance not very different from that of *-m'mia-* (§ 28, 4). It seems best defined as a continuative, equivalent in meaning to such English locutions as TO KEEP -ING, TO BE -ING. It refers to an act consummated at one period, not, like the usitative, to one which is repeated at intervals. Examples are:

nontsɪ- to fly
qa- to sing

nontsɪ'n'ni' flies around
qa'n'ɪ' sings along, sings while
 walking

ki(y)ɛ- to laugh
tsip̃ɣi- to ride
an-i- to do

ki(y)ɛ'n'ni' is laughing
ts'p̃ɣi'n'ɪ' is riding around
i(y)ɛ'nuan 'an'i'n'ni' here-I do-
 continuative, here I am; *'an-i'-*
n'nintɛɪ one who keeps doing
p̃ni'n'nap̃ɣa' kept on looking
moɪ'n'ni'p̃ɣai(y)aŋa he led a-
 round; *moɪ'n'ni'xwa'*^a go lead
 around!

qara'xa- (there is) noise of rawhide *qara'xan-i'iyin'ɪ'* (it) makes a
 noise as of rawhide

Another form of this suffix is *-n̄-i-*^s or, with preceding glottal stop, *-' . . n̄-i-*^s. These elements seem to differ from the more common *-n'ni-*, partly in reinforcing the idea of plurality or distribution of the subject, partly in conveying a usitative implication. The matter is not altogether clear, however. Examples are:

anɪk'a- several do

anɪk'ani'ɪ'x'a' while (they) do so

i'i'n-i- to do like this

i'i'n ini-ⁱvā'campani(-ⁱ)χa'a this-do-continuative-future-just-me-then! let me just keep doing like this (regularly)!

imp̃n'i- to be resting raised on (something)

imp̃i'n'ini-ⁱntcī being (permanently) raised on (something)

namp̃ni- to look for tracks

namp̃i'n'ini-ⁱχa' while looking for tracks

ɔ'tca'nɔ-nts- to carry (diminutively, § 35) a water-jar

ɔ'tca'n'ɔ-ntq̃ni-ⁱvā' shall always be carrying a water-jar

(13) *-m̃-* (*-m̃-*) ALREADY, AFTER. This suffix indicates that the activity predicated by the verb stem has already been attained and is thus either past (if momentaneous) or in progress (if durative). Examples are:

tī'qa- to eat

tī'qa'm-ⁱyīaŋ 'ɔai' he is eating already (for 'ɔai' see § 60, 3)

p̃tc̃- to arrive

p̃tc̃m̃ntca-ŋ 'ɔai' he has already arrived

uñi'k-a- several do

uñi'k-aŋum-ⁱq-a-m̃ after they had all done so

q̃u'ts̃i'k-ⁱk̃aŋu- all burn (momentaneous)

q̃u'ts̃i'k-ⁱk̃aŋum̃ts̃ini after having (plur. subj.) burned me

§ 31. Suffixes of number.

Number is expressed in the verb in four different ways: 1, by reduplication, properly a distributive formation but frequently expressing plurality of subject or object (see § 58, 3); 2, by the use of distinctive stems for the singular and plural, a few of the plural stems being used only as second members of verb + verb compounds (see § 54); 3, by the use of suffixes indicating plurality of the subject or, less commonly, of the object; 4, by the use of suffixes expressing ideas of number and voice (transitivity and intransitivity) at the same time. Only the last two processes are here discussed.

Even aside from pronominal elements, it is always possible to tell from the form of a verb whether its animate subject is singular or plural, often, also, whether its object is singular or plural. Verbs with a dual subject are singular in form, but are differentiated in practice from singulars by their employment of plural (or, in two cases, distinctively dual) pronominal elements (§ 40). Thus,

(a) *-tcai-* plural (or distributive) intransitive (medio-passive). It is frequently added to distributive *-γi-* (§ 30, 2) or replaces singular

momentaneous *-q-i-* (§ 30, 3). The form of the stem is regularly durative, i. e. with ungeminated consonant. For a change of the singular vowel to *-i-* in the plural, see § 53, 1, b. Examples are:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>yauq-wi-</i> , <i>yauq-wa-</i> one enters,
goes into (e. g. flesh); sun sets | <i>ya'uγwutcai-</i> several go into |
| <i>qa'pa'-q-i-</i> one (thing) stops | <i>qav'tcai-</i> several stop |
| <i>paγa'-q-(ε)i-</i> (it) tears (slowly); | <i>paγ(a')itcai-</i> several articles tear |
| <i>pa'qa'-q-i-</i> (it) tears (at once) | (intr.), (clothes, hat, moccasins) are torn in several places, are worn out; <i>paγ(a')itcaigu-</i> (clothes) wear out |
| <i>ɔ'pa'q-i-tci</i> having a hole (lit., hole-ripping) | <i>ɔv'a'xutcaitci</i> having holes (lit., hole-rip-several-participle) |
| <i>qəw'-q-wi-</i> (it) breaks (slowly); | <i>qəv'tcai-</i> several break; <i>qəv'tcai-</i> |
| <i>qə'pə'-q-wi-</i> (it) breaks (at once) | <i>p-i</i> broken (arrows) |
| <i>tə'pa'-q-i-</i> one (tooth, tree) comes loose | <i>təv'tcai-</i> several come loose |
| <i>tī'pa'-q-i-</i> one emerges | <i>tiv'itcaigu-</i> several emerge, come out (momentaneously) |
| <i>tuv'pa'-q-i-</i> one pulls out, comes through | <i>tuv'a'x(a)itcaigu-</i> several pull out |
| <i>-qap-i-n-na-</i> to cut (trans.) in one cut; <i>-qavi-n-a-</i> to cut (trans.) duratively (for <i>-n-na-</i> , <i>-n-a-</i> see b below) | <i>qav'tcaigu-</i> several (bows) snap |
| <i>yu'a'q-a-</i> one goes in | <i>yu'a'xutcaigu-</i> several go in |
| <i>(i'ri'q-i-tci</i> ledge) | <i>tavi'-i'riγ-tcaai</i> there are spots of sunlight (poetic) |

Observe that the momentaneous form of *-tcai-* is *tcai-γu-*.

(b) *-n-a-* durative transitive with singular (chiefly inanimate) object.

(c) *-n-na-* momentaneous transitive with singular (chiefly inanimate) object.

(d) *-tea-* transitive with plural (chiefly inanimate) object; also used as transitive distributive.

These three elements are best treated together. *-n-a-* may be considered the transitive (inanimate) correspondent of *-γi-* (§ 30, 2); *-n-na-* of *-q-i-* (§ 30, 3); *-tea-* of *-tcai-* (a above), with which it is evi-

dently connected (like *-tcai-*, *-tca-* is regularly accompanied by durative consonantism in the stem). Examples are:

ts'ka'p'in'NA to cut in one cut: *ts'ka'vina-* to cut (one object): *ts'ka'-vitca-* to cut several objects

qī'qo'i'nai' takes off (momentaneously) with the teeth: *tca'qo'inai'* takes off one article of clothing: *tca'qo'itcai'* takes off several articles of clothing

tA'qo'p'in'NA to break an object by stepping on (cf. *qo'po'-q-wi-* to break, intr.)

tō'to'p'in'NA to pull out one (cf. *tu'pa'q-i-* one object pulls out): *tō'to'vitca-* to pull out several objects

wī'pa'q'in'NA to rip open (cf. *pa'qa'-q-i-* to tear intr.): *tō'pa'γitca-* to rip open in several places, *tca'pa'γ(a)itca-* to tear (one) to pieces

mantcu'q-win'NA to crush (an object) all at once: *mantcu'γwina-* to crush (an object)

s-ki'n'nai' turns (his) head to one side

nari'tsin'ai' joins (one object to another)

wī'(y)α'γqī'n'a- to cut notches into (a piece of wood), to make a rasp

ts-qwī'ri'na- to rake out one with a stick: *ts-qwī'ritca-* to rake out several (animals or plants) with a stick

tsiya'uqwa- to push one in with a point: *tsiya'uχwitca-* to push many in with a point

A number of verbs in *-n'na-* are formed from noun and adjective-verb stems to express the idea of LAYING ON, PAINTING, e. g.:

aŋga- to be red

aŋga'n'NA'pū'ya'aik-wa (he) painted it (primarily, but not necessarily, red)

saγwa- to be blue

saγwa'n'nai' paints (it) blue

san-a- gum

san-a'n'nai' smears on gum

§ 32. Temporal suffixes.

Not all verbs have a definite temporal form. The use of absolute or tenseless verb forms is discussed in § 51, 2. Besides the temporal suffixes here discussed, two of the enclitic elements express temporal relations (§ 19, 1).

(1) *-yī-* present tense. The great majority of verbs express a specific reference to present time by means of this suffix. Examples are:

<i>qa-</i> to sing	<i>qa-i'</i> sings (< <i>qa-yĩ-</i>); <i>qa'-yĩamĩ</i> they 2 sing; <i>qa'-yĩcampani</i> even though I sing
<i>tĩ'qa-</i> to eat	<i>tĩ'qa'(i)yĩni</i> I eat
<i>aiyaru-</i> to make a turtle	<i>aiya'ruyuni</i> I make a turtle (< - <i>ruyĩ-</i>)
<i>ivi-</i> to drink	<i>ivi'yĩro'a</i> dost thou drink?
<i>pu'tcu'tcuɣwa-</i> to know	<i>pu'tcu'tcuɣwa'yĩq.wa</i> knows it

(2) *-qa-* present and past tense. A number of verbs, some of them of extremely common occurrence, are used not with *-yĩ-*, but with *-qa-*, which refers indifferently to present or past time. Perhaps the *-qa-* forms are best considered as the equivalents of tenseless absolutes in other verbs. These verbs are *ai-* TO SAY, *an-ia-* TO SAY WHAT?, verbs of doing in *-ni-* (§ 26, 2, b; § 43, 3), and diminutive verbs in *-(n)tsu-* (§ 35, 2). Examples are:

<i>ai-</i> to say	<i>'ani'an 'a'ik:ʒA</i> what-I said?; <i>ta'mpinia-ŋ a'ik:ʒA</i> tired-of- what-he says; <i>qac a'ik:ani</i> not I-said; <i>a'ik:ʒAcampani</i> say- only-like-I, I think so
<i>an-ia-</i> (to say) what?	<i>nĩ' an'iʒqani'</i> I say-what?-like, what do I care?; <i>an'iʒ-qa'</i> <i>nĩru'x.wa</i> say-what?-thou me- to, what did you say to me?
<i>an-i-</i> to do so, be so	<i>ma'ixain ani'k:ʒA</i> so-saying-I so- do, I do as I say; <i>na'a'int ur</i> <i>ani'k:ʒA</i> burning it does-so, it is something burning
<i>un-i-</i> to do so, be so	<i>imp un'i'k:ʒA nu'yu'xaza'</i> what does-so moving? what is it that moves?
<i>aɣan-i-</i> to do what? to act how?	<i>aɣa'n-iʒka-ŋA</i> what did he do?
<i>qa-tsu-</i> to sing (diminutive subject)	<i>qa-'tska-ŋA</i> a little fellow is sing- ing
<i>yayayari-</i> to sit and cry	<i>yay'a(·)'yarĩtsuk:ʒA</i> is sitting and crying, poor fellow

That this *-qa-* is often equivalent to *-yĩ-* is shown clearly in such a sentence as *nĩ' nam-i'xanintcu(i)yĩ, muri'a sa'ai, tĩ'qa'(i)yĩq.wa, unts a'ik: ymu'ruɣ.wa tĩɣi'aŋwĩA* I FIRST-HOUSE-BUILD, BEANS BOIL, EAT-THem, THEN SAY TO-THem DEER.

(3) *-q'ai-* perfective. This suffix is very frequently employed as a preterital element, its main point of difference from enclitic *-(n)tca-* and *-ɣwa-* (§ 19, 1) being its emphasis on the idea of completion. Examples are:

<i>A'p'i-</i> to sleep	<i>A'p'i'ik'ai(y)anA</i> he slept, has been asleep
<i>ivi'c'uanɣufi-</i> (water) is drunk up	<i>ivi'c'uanɣufi'zqa'</i> (water) has been drunk up
<i>na'a'it-u'p'wik-u-</i> to burn up	<i>na'a'it-u'p'wik-Uqwa'</i> (it) has burnt up
<i>aχa'n'ihu-</i> to act how (momentaneously)? to have what happen to one?	<i>aχa'n'ihuq'wai'i</i> what happened to you?
<i>pA'qa'ɣu-</i> to kill	<i>pA'qa'ɣuqwa'aiɣwa'</i> maybe you have killed him (<i>-qwa'ai-</i> broken from <i>-q[w]ai-</i>)
<i>yaa'inɣw'ai-</i> to go out hunting	<i>yaa'inɣw'ai'k-a'</i> went out hunting.

Before subordinating *-q'u-* (§55, 1, e), *-q'ai-* appears as *-q'a-* (cf. § 26, 1, a and b; § 30, 9); e. g. *yaa'inɣw'ai'k-a'q'oaɣA* AFTER HE HAD GONE OUT HUNTING. For perfective participial *-q'ant-*, see § 25, 6, d. Though perfectly analogous in treatment to resultative *-q'ai-* (§ 30, 9) and perhaps etymologically related to it, it is in practice felt as a distinct element, as shown by the occurrence of *-q'ai'k'ai-* resultative-perfective, e. g.:

<i>tɔɣɔ'tsiat'ui-</i> to cause to cover over on top	<i>tɔɣɔ'tsiat'uk'ai'k-a'</i> had (evidently) been caused to cover over on top
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The perfective idea frequently takes on an inferential implication. An explicit inferential present-perfect (HAS EVIDENTLY -ED) is formed by combining perfective *-q'ai-* with present *-ɣi-*: *-q'aiy-*. In general it seems that perfective *-q'ai-* regularly implies lack of direct knowledge on the part of the speaker, differing in this respect from enclitic *-(n)tca-* (§ 19, 1, a). Examples of inferential *-q'ai(yi)-* are:

<i>ivi-</i> to drink	<i>ivi'k'aip-i</i> what was evidently drunk (by someone)
<i>qa'q'a-</i> several sing	<i>qa'q'Aqaiyiamü</i> maybe they did sing

qa'χw'ai to go to sing

qa'χw'aiḡaiyāḡA he has evidently gone to sing (known from inferential evidence)

A'p'i'iva(i)yi- to come back from sleeping, to have been sleeping (§ 18, 1, a)

A'p'i'ivaizḡai(y)ayA he has evidently been sleeping

(4) *-va-ⁿ*, *-mpa-ⁿ* future, intensitive. In ordinary indicative forms this element generally adds an intensitive or hortatory force to its fundamental future significance (contrast *-va-n-ia-*, *-mpa-n-ia-* below, 5). In other forms, such as gerunds in *-tsi-* (§ 55, 1, a) and participles (§ 25, 6, b), it seems to indicate mere futurity. It is used also in simple future statements that are conditional on other acts. Examples of *-va-ⁿ* are:

qa- to sing

qa'va-ni I'll sing; *qa'va-ḡA* he'll sing, let him sing!

p'ini'ḡai- to see

p'ini'ḡai-ḡani I'll see him, let me see him!

ḡni't-ua- some one does

ḡni't-uava-ḡA let someone do it!

t'i'qa- to eat

t'i'qa'va-p-i what will (always) be eaten

patcaq-wa- to get wet

patca'q-wa-^ava' (if it rains, he) will get wet

təγəq-wi- to run

təγə'q-wi-va' (if I hit him, he) will run

yaya'xa- to burst into tears

ini't-uγwa'^a yaya'xava-n uru'ac-u this-away-thou cry (momentaneous, § 58, 5, c)-will-I else (§ 60, 3); go away or I'll cry

Examples of *-mpa-ⁿ* are:

pA'qa'ḡu-ⁿ to kill

pA'qqa'umḡa-ḡwa'^a you'll kill him; *pA'qa'ḡumpa-p-i* who will be killed

aiḡu-ⁿ to say (momentaneously)

a'iyumpa-acuni let me say again!

ḡvaq-aḡu-ⁿ several pull out

ḡva'q-aḡ-umpa-c-u (let us) pull (them) out again

These suffixes may be combined with narrative past *-p'iyai-* (6 below) or dubitative *-vī-*, *-mpī-* (see § 33, 2). The former, *-va-p'iyai-* (*-mpa-p'iyai-*), indicates an act in the past looking towards the future. Examples are:

qu'qu- to shoot

qu'qu'va-p'iyain'ni'aywa shoot-
will-past-like-him, (acted) as
though about to shoot him

pa'qa'qu- to kill

pa'qa'qumpa-mpi-(?)aya maybe
(he) will kill him

(5) *-va-n'ia-*, *-mpa-n'ia-* future indicative. In contrast to *-va-* (*-mpa-*), from which it is evidently derived, this suffix indicates the simple future. Examples of *-va-n'ia-* are:

taqa- to kick

taqa'va-n'i' will kick

maai- to find

imp'i'an maa'ivä-n'i' what-I find
shall? what shall I find?

Of *-mpa-n'ia-*:

pa'qa'qu- to kill

pa'qa'qumpa-n'i'ani I'll kill you

quum-i- to be wont to do

quum'impa-n'iani I shall always
do

i'yupa- to go through here

i'yupa-mpa-n'i' he will go
through here

yoo'ixa- to move, flutter

yoo'ixampa-n'i' (it)will move

(6) *-p'iyai-* remote past, narrative past. This is the element regularly employed in mythical narrative. Narrative referring to a relatively recent past makes use of enclitic *-ywa-* (§ 19, 1, b). Without doubt *-p'iyai-* is compounded of past passive participial *-p'i-* (§ 25, 5, b) and verbalizing *-yai-* TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, b). This is shown partly by the fact that *-p'iyai-* is treated analogously to *-yai-* (e. g. participial *-p'iyantä-*, § 25, 6, e; negative *-p'iai-*, § 57, 2, c), partly by the fact that *-p'i-* and *-yai-* may become disconnected (e. g. *-p'i-a-yai-*, see 8 below, diminutive *-p'i-tu-yai-*). Hence a form like *a'ip'iya'* SAID is to be analyzed as SAY-PAST PASSIVE PARTIC.-HAVE, HAS SAID. In other words, Paiute *-p'iyai-* forms are formally the synthetic analogues of English perfects; the functions do not quite correspond in the two languages, however.

Examples of *-p'iyai-* are:

qari- to sit, dwell

qari'p'iya' sat, dwelt, *qari'p'iyaimi* they 2 dwelt

töna- to strike

töna'p'iyaini struck me (long ago)

qanuxai- to have a house

nä' qanu'xai'p'iya' I had a house

pa'qa'ηuti- to be killed

pa'qa'ηuti'pīyaiχv'ayaxa' 'əqi'
kill-passive-past-irrealis-he-
then! (§ 19, 2, b), I wish he
had been killed

It may be combined with a preceding inferential perfective *-q'ai-*,
e. g.

ya'ai- to die

ya'a'ik'aip'iyaitəayaxain'i' die-
perfective-past-interrogative-
he-indeed, he seems to have
(evidently) died (long ago)

Examples of diminutive *-p'ütsu'ai-* are:

qa- to sing

qa'p'ütsu'xa' a little fellow sang

wan'aru- to make a rabbit-net

wan'a'rup'ütsu'yaic'u (the boy)
made a rabbit-net again

For *-mpīyai-* after usitative *-n'ü-*, see § 30, 11. Rarely *-mpīyai-* is found as sporadic variant instead of *-p'iyai-*; e. g. *ə'a'x'avatcuγwam-pīya'* WENT RIGHT INTO IT.

(7) *-p'iyäy-* HAS BEEN -ED. This passive narrative past is evidently compounded of past passive participial *-p'ü-* (§ 25, 5, b), possessive *-a-* (§ 24, 2, a), and present *-yü-* (1 above). TO HAVE BEEN KILLED (BY ONE), therefore, as expressed by *-p'iyäy-*, seems literally to mean TO BE ONE'S KILLED ONE. It seems to differ from the normal passive narrative past (*-t'ip'iyai-*) in more definitely implying an agent and perhaps also in referring to a continued state in the present. Examples are:

pa'qa'ηu- to kill

pa'qa'ηup'iai' was killed (long
ago by people and is now dead)

qwiγwü- several take (one person)

qwiγ'x'p'ia(i)yiaηA he was taken
(long ago by them and is there
now)

(8) *-p'ü(a)γait'uayü-* impersonal narrative past. Forms of this sort, compounded of narrative past *-p'iyai-*, impersonal *-t'ua-*, and present *-yü-*, have been already referred to (§ 29, 14). What difference there is between the *-p'iyai-* and the *-p'iyai-* forms with possessive *-a-* (§ 24, 2, a) is not clear. As for the use of the present *-yü-*, it is very likely that the *-yai-* of *-p'iyai-*, when final, is to be understood as

including a reference to present time (cf. lack of *-yĩ-* after *-yai-* TO HAVE, § 26, 1, b, which implicitly refers to present time) and that this implied *-yĩ-* needs to be expressed after an inserted *-ua-*. In other words, *-yai-* and *-yai-yĩ-* have fallen together to *-yai-*, but *-yai-ua-yĩ-* remains as such. Examples are:

<i>pA²qa'ñu-</i> to kill	<i>pA²qa'p'ĩyai'tua(i)yĩaŋA</i> people (impers.) have him killed, he was killed (some time ago); <i>punqu'A pA²qa'ñupĩariyai'tuai'</i> horse (obj.) they (impers.)-killed
<i>gam'ĩxanuxai-</i> to have a jack-rabbit camp	<i>gam'ĩxanuxaip'ĩyai'tuai'</i> they (impers.) had a camp for hunting jack-rabbits
<i>qu'tcu'mpunquñwĩyai-</i> buffalo-pet-animate plur.-have, to have cattle	<i>qu'tcu'mpunquñwĩyai'pĩariyai'tuai'</i> people (impers.) had cattle

§ 33. Modal suffixes.

There are only two specifically modal verb suffixes. Most modal ideas, as we have seen, are expressed by the aid of enclitics (§ 19, 2). The indicative has no special modal suffix; for the imperative, see § 52. For perfective *-q'ai-* as inferential, see § 32, 3.

(1) *-yv-*, (*-q-v-*), *-ñqv-* irrealis. This element indicates that the activity expressed by the verb is unreal, i. e. either merely potential or contrary to fact (potential in past time). In the latter case it is preceded by perfective *-q'ai-* (§ 32, 3) or narrative past *-p'ĩyai-* (§ 32, 6). It is not used with present *-yĩ-* nor, it would seem, with future *-va-*, *-mpa-*. Optative examples (WOULD THAT . . . !) involving enclitic *-ya'* followed by *'ai'* have been already given (§ 19, 2, b). Further examples of the irrealis are:

<i>pa'yi'k-w' ai'xv'ñaxa' 'ai'</i> go-away-irrealis-he-then! he ought to go away!
<i>nĩ nana'i' ai'k-a'ŋA yaya'a'qai'xu'</i> I anger-die-if-he cry (momentaneous)-perfective-irrealis; had he got angry, I would have cried
<i>pA²qq'upĩariyu'uŋwA</i> would have killed him
<i>uñwa'ñuq-v'q-waxa' 'ai'</i> would that it might rain! (<i>-q-v-</i> perhaps dissimilated from <i>-ñqv-</i>)
<i>a'ai'yunquv-n'ixa' 'ai'</i> would that I might get well!

The irrealis may be participialized by means of *-p'i-*. Participial *-kv'p'i-* is frequently used as a base in optative forms with enclitic *-cuyaywa . . . n'oa-* (§ 19, 2, h). Other examples of its use are:

'a'iyuxv'p' ur uru'ai' good-would-participle it is, it would be good (somewhat as though one were to say HE IS A POSSIBLE SINGER instead of HE WOULD SING)

uru'axu' sv''aiyuxv'p'i be-would very-good-would-participle, (it) would be extremely good

piŋwa'ronoq'o'p'ini (-q'o- < -ŋq'o-?) my would-be-made-as-wife, I would take her as my wife (song form)

A past participial irrealis, *-kv'p'iyanti-*, is also found, e. g.: *pA''qa'-uŋqv'p'iyanti* who would have killed me

(2) *-v'i-*, *-mp'i-* dubitative. The dubitative verb suffix is frequently accompanied in the same or a preceding word by an enclitic *-'* (§ 19, 2, n). It may be rendered as PERHAPS, IT MAY (MIGHT) BE THAT . . . Future dubitatives in *-va'mp'i-* (*-mpa'mp'i-*) are common but, so far as known, the dubitative suffix is not employed with other tense suffixes. Examples of *-v'i-*, *-mp'i-* are:

ivi'v'i' maybe (he) is drinking; *ivi'v'i'.* maybe thou art drinking (didst drink); *ivi'k'av'i'raŋwa'a* maybe we did drink

an'axwan a'ivi' qa'ya' what-preterit-I say-perhaps sing- subordin-
ate? how did I sing (long ago)?

ya'a'ivi'ŋwa'a maybe he is dead, he must be dead

aŋ aro'av'i i'ŋA who is-dubitative this? I wonder who this is!

pa'x'iqw'aik'ant uru'av'i having-gone-away might-be, I wonder if (he) went away

ivi'ŋump'i'. maybe you did drink

pA''qa'ŋumpa'mp'i' (ʔ)aŋA maybe (he) will kill him

maa'iva'mp'i'ŋwarami'. he might find us 2 (inclusive)

qwa'ŋutuava'mpini they (impers.) will perhaps beat me, it seems I shall get beaten

§ 34. Order of verbal elements.

At this point we may conveniently take up the question of the order in which occur the various elements that build up a verb form. Four main positions are to be recognized: prefix, verbal theme, suffix (prevailing formal in character), and enclitic. Each of these positions may consist of more than one element. On the other

hand, only the second position is necessarily filled, though ordinarily one or more elements of the third position follow. The order of elements within each of the four fundamental positions is, for the most part, rigorously determined. Fifteen positions may be recognized within the third, though, needless to say, only a limited number of combinations among these are intrinsically possible. The following scheme will be useful for reference (the letters and numbers indicate order of position):

A. Prefix

1. Adverbial prefix (§ 20)
2. Reflexive prefix (§ 22)
3. Instrumental prefix (§ 21)

B. Verbal theme

1. (a) Verb stem (or other stem if followed by B 2); or (b) combination of stems, last of which is necessarily verbal (unless B 2 follows) (§ 18, 2)¹
2. Verbalizing suffix (§ 26)

C. Suffix

1. Suffixes of voice and aspect: *-ya-* (§ 30, 1); *-yi-* (§ 30, 2); *-qi-* (§ 30, 3); *-n'na-* (§ 31, 2, c); *-na-* (§ 31, 2, b); *-ta-* (§ 31, 2, d)
2. *-tai-* (§ 31, 2, a)
3. Causative *-ui-* (§ 29, 12)
4. Indirective (or transitivizing) *-qi-* (§ 29, 11)
5. Pluralizing suffixes: *-qa-* (§ 31, 1, c); *-'wa-* (§ 31, 1, a); *-ti-* (§ 31, 1, b)
6. Suffixes of movement (§ 28); continuative *-ni-* (§ 30, 12)
7. Momentaneous suffixes: *-yu-* (§ 30, 5); *-qu-* (§ 30, 7)
8. Resultative *-qai-* (§ 30, 9); passive *-ti-* (§ 29, 13)
9. Perfective *-qai-* (§ 32, 3); usitative *-mia-*, *-mi-*ⁿ (§ 30, 10); *-mi-* (§ 30, 13). *-mi-*ⁿ precedes *-qai-*.
10. Future *-pa-* (§ 32, 4), *-pa'ia* (§ 32, 5); *-nia-* probably best considered as belonging to position 14)

¹ A 2 (or A 3) + B 1 (a) + B 2 may, however, be taken as unit and compounded with preceding (non-verbal) or following (verbal) stem. Indeed, this extended verbal "theme" may also include elements (chiefly 1-4) belonging to position C. It is difficult to give rules, as composition takes place whenever two or more elements or groups of elements are felt as logically combinable or psychologically equivalent. Composition thus somewhat breaks in on our order scheme.

11. Usitative *-n-ĩ-* (§ 30, 11)
12. Narrative past *-p-ĩgai-* (§ 32, 6), which may be split into its component elements by possessive *-a-* (§ 24, 2, a) or diminutive *-tsi-* (§ 35)
13. Impersonal *-t-ua-* (§ 29, 14)
14. Tense and modal elements: present *-yĩ-* (§ 32, 1); present *-q-a-* (§ 32, 2); modal *-kv-* (§ 33, 1); dubitative *-pĩ-* (§ 33, 2)
15. Syntactic elements, embracing:
 - (a) Nominalizing suffixes (§ 25); or
 - (b) Subordinating suffixes (§ 55, 1)
- D. Enclitic, occurring in nine positions, one of which, no. 7, may in turn be subdivided into three positions (see § 19, 4; § 41, 1 and 4)

There is some doubt as to the priority of certain positions in C; thus, it may be that 10 and 11 should be reversed or, as probably mutually exclusive elements, grouped together. Aside from doubts of this sort, there are a number of disturbances of the above scheme introduced by the impersonal *-t-ua-* and the passive *-t-ĩ-*. First of all, when *-t-ua-* is used as indirect object of indirective *-yqĩ-*, it follows position 4 and precedes position 5 (see § 29, 14). Secondly, *-t-ua-* regularly precedes future *-pa-(nia-)* (position 10), yet follows position 12. Thirdly, the position of pluralizing *-q-a-* (no. 5), which regularly precedes e. g. momentaneous *-ñu-* (position 7), is disturbed in impersonal and passive forms. In these cases it falls between positions 8 and 9, i. e. it follows passive *-t-ĩ-* but precedes perfective *-q-ai-* and impersonal *-t-ua-*. Thus, with normal *ivi'k-añuyĩ-* SEVERAL TAKE A DRINK, contrast *pa²qa'ñufiqaq-ai-* SEVERAL HAVE BEEN KILLED and *fiw'i'ñuq(w)at-u'ayĩ-* THEY (PLUR. IMPERS.) ASK. Lastly, impersonal *-t-ua-* follows subordinating *-ku-* (see § 55, 1, e) in spite of the fact that subordinating suffixes (C, 15, b) regularly follow all other verbal suffixes.

It will not be necessary here to give examples testing out the order scheme, as they can be readily found by the reader among the numerous verb forms scattered in this paper. The positions assumed by diminutive *-tsi-*, which seems to be treated rather irregularly, will be referred to in § 35, 2.

§ 35. *The diminutive.*

The diminutive suffix *-tsi-*, evidently an old Uto-Aztekan element (cf. Nahuatl *-tzin-*), is found in both noun and verb forms. It

seems to appear in three forms: *-tsi-*, *-t-si-*, and *-ntsi-*, the last of these appearing both as nasalized form of "spirantal" *-tsi-* and after nasalizing stems.

(1) IN NOUN FORMS. Examples of a properly diminutive use in nouns of this suffix are very common, e. g.:

<i>qwa(·)n·a'nts·</i> eagle	<i>qwa(·)na'tsuts·</i> chicken hawk (lit., little eagle)
<i>ayi'phi</i> mosquito	<i>ayi'vits·</i> flea (lit., little mosquito)
<i>iyj'vdcua-</i> young of mourning-dove	<i>iyj'vdcuatsiηwi</i> little mourning-doves
<i>o-</i> arrow	<i>v'ts·</i> little arrow
<i>tə'ca'p·a(i)ya-γantī-</i> white-breast-having	<i>tə'ca'p·a(i)ya-tsiγantī-</i> little white-breasted one, gull
<i>(pis'·ca-)</i>	<i>pis'·ə'atsiηwi</i> children, <i>pis'·ə'atsi-ηwini</i> my children
<i>tümp(·)i</i> stone	<i>tümp'·ts·</i> small stone
<i>uγwi'phi</i> grass	<i>uγwi'vits·</i> little grass-stalk
<i>tiŋqa'nūphi</i> cave	<i>tiŋqa'nūvitsiaphi</i> his own little cave (obj.)
<i>(na'ai-ntsi-)</i>	<i>na'a'intsuts·</i> little girl
<i>mia'·γantī</i> divide (noun)	<i>mia'·ntsγantī</i> little divide
<i>qa'ni</i> house	<i>qani'nts·</i> little house

Examples of the diminutive in denominating terms other than true nouns (i. e. adjectives and adverbs) are:

<i>təv'its·</i> for a short distance
<i>mi(y)a'p'its·</i> little
<i>miə'·ants·</i> small, tiny
<i>mi(y)ə'·tsiφA</i> at a little distance

The diminutive frequently expresses affection rather than smallness. As such it is frequently used in terms of relationship, e. g.:

<i>pavi'ni</i> my older brother	<i>pavi'tsuni</i> my (dear) older brother
<i>patsi'ni</i> my older sister	<i>patsi'tsuni</i> my (dear) older sister
<i>qayū'ni</i> my grandmother	<i>qayū'tsiηwini</i> my dear grandmothers
<i>pi(y)a'ni</i> my mother	<i>pi(y)a'tsiηwini</i> my dear mothers;
	<i>nav'·tsiηwi</i> mother and child
	(§ 22, 1)

In reciprocal terms of relationship (e. g. *gunu*- GREAT-GRANDFATHER, MAN'S GREAT-GRANDCHILD) the form with diminutive is regularly used for the younger generation,¹ though it may also be used to refer to the older generation (cf. GRANDMOTHER above). Thus,

gunu'ni my great-grandfather *gunu'tsin* my great-grandchild
(man speaking)

As regards its position relatively to other noun suffixes, *-tsi-* follows all noun suffixes enumerated in § 25, 1 and 2 (e. g. classificatory *-pī-*, possessive *-a-*). It is not clear, however, whether *-(n)tsi-tsi-* is to be analyzed as absolutive + diminutive or diminutive + absolutive. Such a form as *qwa(·)na'tsuts* < *qwa(·)na'-nts* (see above) suggests the latter analysis, which would correspond to Nahuatl *-tzin-tli*. As to nominalizing elements (§ 25), *-tsi* follows passive participial *-pī-* (probably also *-pī-*) and instrumental *-n'impī-* but precedes *-n'a-* and active participial *-ti-* (e. g. *qwtcu'v'atsitci* LITTLE KNOLL < *qwtcu'v'arī* KNOLL). Naturally it precedes animate plural *-ŋwī-* (§ 48, 1) and objective *-a-* (§ 49, 1).

(2) IN VERB FORMS. The diminutive is frequently used in verb forms, chiefly to indicate that the person spoken to or of is a child, also to indicate an affectionate or pleading attitude. Examples are:

<i>qa-</i> to sing	<i>qa'ts-ka-ŋa</i> a little fellow is singing (for <i>-ka-</i> see § 32, 2); <i>qa'tsi'i</i> you, little fellow, sing! <i>qa'tsiva-n'a-ŋa</i> a little fellow will sing; <i>qa'p'itsixa'</i> a little fellow sang (< <i>-p'itya'</i>)
<i>o'χwairātci</i> row wont to have an ar-	<i>o'tsixaivātci</i> dit. (referring to a child)
<i>ti'ni'āqāva'am</i> I shall tell you	<i>ti'ni'āqātsiva'am</i> dit. (addressed to a child)
<i>qa'yō'm'ma-</i> to hop along	<i>qa'yō'm'mucentsiya'</i> while hopping along, poor little fellow
<i>ō'tca'n'ō'n'i-</i> to be carrying a water-jar	<i>ō'tca'n'ō'ntyni'vā'</i> will be carrying a water-jar, if you please
<i>wan-arū-</i> to make a rabbit-net	<i>wan-a'RU'pitsiyaic-U</i> again (the boy) made a rabbit-net

¹ See Sapir, *A Note on Reciprocal Terms of Relationship in America*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 1913, pp. 132-138.

For *-nu-ntsi-* and *-q-u-ntsi-* in a quasi-temporal sense, see § 30, 5 and 7.

The position of the diminutive in verb forms is not altogether easy to assign. It seems normally to fall between positions 9 and 10 of C. Thus, it has been found to follow indirective *-ngä-* (position 4), *-m'mia-* (position 6), momentaneous *-nu-* and *-q-u-* (position 7), usitative *-m-i-* (position 10) and present *-q-a-* (position 14). However, it seems to precede continuative *-ni-* (position 6). Owing to its regularly following past passive participial *-p'i-* (see 1 above), it cuts *-p'iyai-* (position 12) in two: *-p'itsiyai-*. Moreover, it seems always to precede *-kai-* TO HAVE (position B 2); see *o'tsɣwaiwätcĩ* above (this may, however, be interpreted to mean WONT TO HAVE A LITTLE ARROW, *o'tsɣwai-* being verbalized from *o'tsi-*; yet cf. *tɔ'ca'p'aiya-tsɣantĩ-*, 1 above, LITTLE ONE WHO HAS A WHITE BREAST, probably not HAVING A LITTLE WHITE BREAST).

§ 36. Numeral suffixes.

(1) *-yu-*ⁿ cardinal numeral suffix. *-yu* forms may be treated as verbs directly or by adding verbalizing *-ngai-* (§ 26, 1); without *-ngai-* they are frequently used attributively as true numerals. In objective forms *-yu-* is replaced by *-q-u-* (§ 49, 1). It is not used ordinarily in compounds (§ 18, 1, h), except in the case of *cv'yu-* ANOTHER (see examples below). Examples of *-yu-* are:

cv'yuc'u nĩ'wĩ one man; *cv'yuc'u tava'mA* one day-at, for one day;
nana'c-v-yungwaiyuc'u reciprocal (reduplicated)-one-cardinal-verbalizing-subordinating (§ 55, 1, c)-also, being one to one another, one by one; *cv'yucwaguc'u* several become one
co'yU another; *cv'y aŋA* another he, another person; *cv'y aRĩ* another it, another thing; *cv'yucinaŋwaw aŋA* the other coyote (Same stem as *cv'yu-* ONE above, but without enclitic *-c-u-*)
waa'iyU nĩ'wĩ'ntsiwĩ two men; *waa'iyungqĩ'ym'ĩnt* two-cardinal-for-momentaneous-they-me, they become two for me
nava'iyU six

Combined with enclitic *-nia-* (§ 19, 2, d), *-yu-* is regularly employed in counting, including attributive usage where stress is laid on number as such. *-yu-nia-* may be rendered IN NUMBER; in animate forms above one, *-m'ĩ-* (§ 48, 1) is often inserted between *-yu-* and *-nia-*. Examples of *-yu(m'u)nia-* are:

cv'yun'i one (in counting; note that *-nia-* replaces *-c-u-*)

waa'iyumun-i wi'tsi'tsuwānA two-cardinal-animate plur. (§ 48, 1)-like
great-grandson-diminutive-animate plur. (§ 48, 1)- her; her great-
grandsons, two in number

pa'iyun-i three (in counting); *paa'iyom-un-i a'ipäpütsuñwü* three young
men (in number)

ta'η wA'tcū'ñwuyum-un-i we four

qan-i'ni man-i'χiyun-i house-my five-cardinal-like, my five houses

(2) *-ta-*, *-tca-* numeral adverbial suffixes. *-ta-* is suffixed to *cv-*
ONE, *-tca-* to all the other numeral stems. These suffixes denote SO
AND SO MANY TIMES. Examples are:

cv'tac-U once

waa'tcA twice (< *wa-* two); *waa'tcAcuA²qan qn'i'k²A* two-times-
again-it-I did, I did it just twice; *nan-i'ñwañwaAtcAcA²qa'm*
'qu'k²añU separately-two (reduplicated)-times-preterit-it-they do-
plural-momentaneous, they did it each twice

paa'itcA three times

§ 37. Suffixes of quasi-pronominal force.

Under this head are included a couple of suffixed elements that
are not easily classified.

(1) *-rī-* (*-tci-* after *i*) inanimate demonstrative suffix. It is ap-
pended to demonstrative stems, also to *qīma²*, to form independent
inanimate demonstrative pronouns, which may be used either sub-
stantively or attributively. These pronouns are *arī-* THAT (indefinite-
ly); *marī-* (*m^wa'rī-*) THAT (visible); *urī-*, *uru-* (*'u'rī-*, *'u'ru-*) THAT
(invisible); *itci-* (*'i'tci-*) THIS; and *qīmarī-* ANOTHER. See § 39, 1.
This *-rī-* is possibly identical in origin with participial *-ñi-* (§ 25, 6, a).

(2) *-p^a(n)tciⁿ-* KINDS OF. So far as known, this element occurs
only after *man²q^u-* ALL (obj.; see § 59, 3, a), e. g.:

man²q^upantciⁿ pa'a'ñw αmü all-kinds-of animals they, all kinds of
animals

man²q^upa(n)tciⁿ- can also be used as the first element of noun
compounds, e. g.:

man²q^upantcinñwava'ñwü all kinds of horses

man²q^upantcinñwintsuñwü all kinds of persons

This suffix is possibly related to participialized postpositive *-vatci-n*, *-p-atci-n* BEING AT (§ 50, 1, 37).

PRONOUNS (§ § 38-46).

§ 38. *Classification of pronouns.*

Paiute pronouns may be divided into six classes: personal pronouns (in part of demonstrative force); postnominal pronouns (closely related to personal pronouns but used practically as articles); demonstrative pronouns (in large part identical with independent third personal pronouns); interrogative pronouns; relative pronoun; and reflexive pronouns. All of these occur as independent stems. The personal pronouns also appear in an enclitic form.

The independent personal pronouns are either subjective or objective. The enclitic series, however, makes the distinction only for the second person and for one or two other forms that will be specified later. The objective forms include possessive functions. The classification of pronouns as to person is as follows:

- 1st person singular
- 1st person dual (inclusive)
- 1st person plural (inclusive)
- 1st person plural (exclusive)
- 2nd person singular
- 2nd person plural
- 3rd person singular animate visible
- 3rd person singular animate invisible
- 3rd person plural animate visible
- 3rd person plural animate invisible
- 3rd person inanimate visible
- 3rd person inanimate invisible

It will be observed that the only specifically dual form is that of the 1st person inclusive. Aside from the first person plural inclusive, all the plural pronominal elements include dual functions; the verb, however, in the latter case is singular in form (cf. § 31). The inanimate third person makes no distinction for number; cf. the lack of plural suffixes for inanimate nouns (§ 48). The classification into visible and invisible in the third person applies particularly to the enclitic series. Independent pronouns of the third person are formed from four distinct demonstrative stems, only one of which implies invisibility (see § 39).

Personal pronouns (§ § 39-41).

§ 39. Independent personal pronouns.

The independent personal pronouns are as follows:

	SUBJECTIVE	OBJECTIVE
1 sing.	<i>nĩ', nĩ-</i>	<i>nĩn-ia-</i>
dual	<i>tam-i-</i>	<i>tam-ia-</i>
(inclusive)		
plural		
(inclusive)	<i>taŋwa-</i>	<i>taŋwaia-</i>
(exclusive)	<i>nĩm^wi-</i>	<i>nĩm^wia-</i>
2 sing.	<i>im-i-</i>	<i>im-ia-</i>
plural	<i>m^wim^wi-</i>	<i>m^wim^wia-</i>
3 a sing.	<i>aŋa-(c-u)-</i> he, that one	<i>aŋaia-(c-u)-</i>
anim.	(indef.)	
plural	<i>am-ĩ-, am-u-c-u-</i>	<i>am-ĩa-(c-u)-</i>
anim.		
inanimate	<i>{ ari-(c-u)-</i> <i>aq-a-</i>	<i>{ ariā-(c-u)-</i> <i>aq-aia-</i>
b sing.	<i>maŋa-(c-u)-; m^wa'ŋa-</i> he,	<i>maŋaia-(c-u)-</i>
anim.	that one (visible)	
plural	<i>mam-ĩ-, mam-u-c-u-</i>	<i>mam-ĩa-(c-u)-</i>
anim.		
inanimate	<i>{ marĩ-(c-u)-; m^wa'rĩ-</i> <i>maq-a-</i>	<i>{ marĩa-(c-u)-; m^wa'riā-</i> <i>maq-aia-</i>
c sing.	<i>iŋa-; i'ŋa-</i> he here, this	<i>iŋaia-</i>
anim.	one	
plural	<i>im-ĩ-; i'm-ĩ-</i>	<i>im-ĩa-, i'm-ĩa-</i>
anim.		
inanimate	<i>{ itcĩ-; i'tcĩ-</i> <i>ik-a-</i>	<i>{ itcĩa-; i'tcĩa-</i> <i>ik-aia-</i>
d sing.	<i>uŋwa-(c-u)-; u'ŋwa-</i> he,	<i>uŋwaia-(c-u)-; u'-</i>
anim.	that one (invisible)	<i>ŋwaia-</i>
plural	<i>um^wĩ-, um-u-c-u-;</i>	<i>um^wĩa-(c-u)-; u'-</i>
anim.	<i>u'u'm^wĩ-</i>	<i>m^wĩa-</i>
inanimate	<i>{ uru-(c-u)-; u'u'rĩ-</i> <i>uq-wa-</i>	<i>{ urua-(c-u)-; u'u'riā-</i> <i>uq-waia-</i>

(1) FORMATION OF INDEPENDENT PERSONAL (AND DEMONSTRATIVE) PRONOUNS. The objectives are formed from the subjectives by the suffixing of *-a-* after all vowels but *a*, after which *-ia-*, *-ya-* is sub-

stituted. This is precisely as with nouns (§ 49, 1). The first person singular, however, has a peculiar objective form, *n̄n·ia-*, based on an otherwise non-occurring *n̄n·i-* instead of *n̄i-*. Both subjective and objective pronouns spirantize following elements (note that *-r-* becomes *-tc-* after *i*, *-ntc-* after nasal + *i*).

The first person singular is *n̄i'* or *n̄i'ʔ* when used absolutely, *n̄i-* when followed by another element (e. g. postposition or modal enclitic). The two inclusive pronouns are evidently based on a common stem *ta-*, which does not occur uncompounded in Paiute; but cf. Nahuatl *tē* WE, *to*- OUR. The *-m·i-* of *tam·i-* is probably identical with that of *n̄m·w·i-* WE (EXCLUSIVE) and *m̄w̄m·w·i-* YE; *n̄i-m·w·i-* is probably based on *n̄i-* 1. The inclusive plural *taṃwa-* probably goes back to **tama-* (§ 16, 1), perhaps assimilated from **tam̄i-* (cf. Hopi *itamö* WE); if this is correct, *-ṃwa-* is probably ultimately identical with animate plural *-ṃwi-* (§ 48, 1).

The four sets of third personal and demonstrative pronouns are based on the demonstrative stems *a-* THAT (indefinite); *ma-*, *m̄w̄a'*- THAT (visible or referred to); *i-*, *i'ʔ-* THIS; and *u-*, *u'ʔ-* THAT (invisible). The doublets with two moras (*m̄w̄a'*-, *i'ʔ-*-, *u'ʔ-*-) do not seem to differ in meaning from one-moraed forms (*ma-*, *i-*, *u-*); both types are doubtless found in all animate (singular and plural) and inanimate subjective and objective forms. The two-moraed forms seem to be favored when the pronoun is used without suffix, the one-moraed when used with postpositions. The second element in the third personal pronouns is pronominal: *-ṃa-* for the animate singular; *-m·i-* (sometimes assimilated to *-m·u-*) for the animate plural (doubtless identical in origin with animate plural suffix *-m·i-* in nouns, § 48, 1); and *-q·a-* or quasi-pronominal *-r̄i-* (*-tc̄i-*) for the inanimate. In the inanimate forms the more properly pronominal *-q·a-* series is far less common than the demonstrative *-r̄i-* series; *-q·a-* forms seem to be in common use in certain other dialects of Southern Paiute. When used attributively, they follow the noun, while *-r̄i-* forms precede. An enclitic *-c·u-* (§ 19, 2, k) is very frequently attached to third personal pronouns, probably to all except inanimates in *-q·a-* and forms with two-moraed demonstrative stem. The chief characteristic of *-c·u-* forms is apparently their more frequent substantive use as true personal pronouns, other forms being employed with more clearly demonstrative force, hence often attributively; nevertheless, *-c·u-* forms are also found used in a demonstrative (and attributive) sense. In general, it is impossible to draw a hard and

fast line between independent third personal pronouns and demonstratives, as they are all in structure demonstrative-personals. On the whole, the purely demonstrative value is strongest in *ma-* (*m^wa'-*) and *i* (*i'-*) forms, the personal in *a-* and *u-* (*u'-*) forms.

(2) *qīma-* OTHER, STRANGER. From this stem is formed a set of forms which closely parallel the independent third personal pronouns. These forms are:

	SUBJECTIVE	OBJECTIVE
sing. anim.	<i>qīma'ḡa-(c-u-)</i> (the) other one	<i>qīma'ḡaia-(c-u-)</i>
plural anim.	<i>qīma'm-ū-, qīma'm-u-</i> (<i>c-u-</i>)	<i>qīma'm-īa-(c-u-)</i>
inanimate	<i>qīma'rī-(c-u-)</i>	<i>qīma'rīa-(c-u-)</i>

For non-pronominal objective *qīma'q-u-*, see § 59, 3, d.

(3) USE OF SUBJECTIVE FORMS. The subjective forms of the independent personal pronouns, as of other pronouns and of nouns, are used as subjects of verbs, unless these are subordinate; as objects of imperatives (for examples see § 52); and, without *-c-u-*, as bases for attached postpositions (§ 50, 3). Examples of independent subjective personal pronouns (including pronoun and postposition) are:

nū' qa-'i' I sing

nū'ntca' pi'pi'tci I-preterit arrive, I arrived

nū'c-amp an-i'k-ʔA I-only do-so, it is only I

nūru'x wA to me

ta'mi qa'va-n-i' we two (inclus.) shall sing

tami'ntcuq wA under us two (inclus.)

ta'ḡwA qa'q'ai' we (inclus.) sing

taḡwa'rux wA to us (inclus.)

nīm^wi'ntcu-x wA to us (exclus.)

imi'ntcu'^a tūmpa'ḡa' thou-interrogative mouth-have, have you a mouth?

imi' ɪxīr (§ 60, 3) *uḡwaro''^a* thou indeed art

m^wimi qa'q'ai' ye sing

aḡa'vnaḡwac-u he-after-again, after him again (*-c-u* AGAIN does not function here as pronominal element)

aḡac-U qan'va-v ɣni'n'nintci he house-at-own do-continuative-participle, he stays in hishouse (for finite use of participle, see § 55, 4, e)

am-i'ru-x-WA to them (animate)

ari'ru-x-WA it-to (rarely used; generally, for inanimate pronoun + postposition, bare demonstrative stem, except in case of *itci-*, is used, e. g. *aru'x-WA*, see § 43, 1)

ari'c-U qu(·)'n ari that fire it, that fire (for postnominal *ari* see § 42, 6)

A²qa'nanḡwəp-A near it

məḡ a'iyi he is good

m²a'ḡantea' pi'pi'tci he-preterit arrive, he arrived

maḡa'ruq-WA under him

maḡa'c-uya' ya'a'iva-n-i he, it is said, will die

ma'mi qa'va-n-i they (two) will sing; *ma'mi qa'q-ava-n-i* they will sing

mam-i'ḡwa² with them

mam-u'c-U nan-a'ḡqate'a'q-aiva' they will listen

ma'Ri qwau' that off, in that direction

imp aro''av i m²a'Ri what would-be that? I wonder what that is!

ma'ri'c-U piya'i'pi'ya' qwa'ci'(y)aḡ ari that was-left-over his-tail it; that tail of his was left; it was left, his tail

tümp²i'ts ma'q-A rock that (uncommon)

aḡ aro''av i'ḡA who would-be this? I wonder who this one is!

iḡa'ru-x-WA to him here

i'ḡ o²i't-v'pi'ya' he here sang a song

im-u'ru-x-WA to these (animate)

itci'' aru'xm-i this is wont to be

itci'ru-x-WA to it here

i'itci this (thing)

tümp²i'ts i'k²-A rock this (uncommon)

uḡwa'vatci to him (invisible)

uḡwa'c-U tiw²a'ts aḡA he (inv.) wolf he; that (inv.) wolf; he, the wolf

ymu'v²inaḡwəp-A behind them (inv.)

uru'ru-x-WA to it (inv.; assimilated from *uri-*; *uru'x-WA* is more common, cf. under *ari-* above)

u'ri that (inv. thing)

uru'c *u^zqwu'vni* *na(i)ya'p'a-η^zupī'ya'* those (sticks) like-arrows became, they (inv.) turned into arrows

u^zqwa'nanqwap'a near it (inv.)

qīma'ηac'u another one, stranger

qīma'm'uc'u others, strangers

qīmarīc'u qa'ni another house, foreign house

(4) USE OF OBJECTIVE FORMS. The objective forms of the independent personal pronouns, as of other pronouns and of nouns, are used as objects (direct or indirect) of transitive verbs; as subjects of subordinate verbs (§ 55, 1); and as genitives. Examples of independent objective personal pronouns are:

nī'ni a'γawantcīqīm'ī me is-wont-to-hide-from, (he) is wont-to hide from me

nī'niA naγu'q-wīqīt-u'a(u)x'u me when-fighting, when I fight

nī'ni 'quaru''a me he-is, he is mine

taηwa'i aRī us (inclus.) it; ours, the (thing) belonging to us

imī'a pA^zqa'q-ainA thee having-killed, your having killed

m^wīmī'Acampa except you (plur. obj.)

nī'aq'A taη aηa'iac'u tō'tsi'A I-it hit him head (obj.), I hit his head (note that *aηa-* and *aηaia-* are rarely, if ever, used without *-c'u-*, except for *aηa-* with postpositions; this is probably to prevent confusion with interrogative *aηa-*, § 44, 1, a)

'am-i'v'antux-wA kwī'pa'p-ī'ya 'am-i'ac'u wa'ma-a'caγwōitsiηwīA on-to-them (anim.) fell them two-old-women (obj.); (it) fell on them, the two old women

'ava 'arī'ac'u it-at that (obj.), there (at) that (place)

imp aro''A^zqa'ia what is it (obj.)? what is thereof? what is it (selected from several)?

maηa'iacampa pūni'k-ai-p-ī'γai(y)aηA him-only saw-him, only him (he) saw

m^wa'rīar'ua-ηA that (obj.)-interrogative-he, (it is) that that he (has been hiding)

MA'tca'ianq̄ip'ŷyai(y)aq·A mari'ac·U wia'mpla reached-for-it that berry

v'i'm'iar'ua·m'iram a'xanwantcinḡimiḡa' these (anim. obj.)-interrogative-they-us 2 (inclus.) hide-to-always-perfective, these (animate beings) they seem to have been hiding from us 2

v'i'tci i'tcuq·U this (obj.) when-(it)-is-morning, this morning

'u'wayac·ampa sa'a'ḡiq̄ava' him (inv.)-only make-mush-for-plural-will, (they) will make mush only for him

yaya'ḡiq̄wciḡ·ava'am w'u'm'ia tcaḡw'i'k'ikwa'itc̄im'ia let (us) cry for those (who are) dying off

pu'tcu'tcuḡwar uru'ac·U fiw'it'p'ia knowing that (inv.) land

In certain sporadic cases that are not clearly understood objective forms seem to be employed subjectively, e. g.:

nī'nuaxwa'axain·i qari'i' I too was sitting down

(5) USE OF SUBJECTIVE AND OBJECTIVE PRONOUNS. An independent subjective pronoun may be combined with an independent objective one, the former apparently preceding, e. g.:

imi nī'nia pa'q̄q'umpa·n·ia thou me wilt-kill

nī' pa'q̄q'ḡuḡum'ia m'w̄im'ia I kill-you (plur.) you (plur. obj.)

As a rule, however, only one of the pronouns is independent, the other being attached as an enclitic (see § 40, 6).

§ 40. Enclitic personal pronouns.

The enclitic pronominal forms are as follows:

	SUBJECTIVE	OBJECTIVE
1 sing.	-n·i-	
dual	-ram·i-	
(inclus.)	(-tcam·i-)	
plural	-raḡwa-	
(inclus.)	(-tcaḡwa-)	
plural	-nīm· ^w i-	
(exclus.)		
2 sing.	-'	-' . . m·i-
plur.	-ḡwī-	-ḡum·i-

3 sing.		
anim. vis	-aŋa-	
anim. inv.	-ʔ . . . ŋwa-	
plural		
anim. vis.	-amĩ-	
anim. inv.	-ʔ . . . mĩ-	
3 inanimate		
vis.	-aq-a-	
inv.	-ʔ . . . qwa-	
dual anim.	-ʔ . . . mĩ-	
reflexive possessive		-vĩ-

(1) FORMATION OF PRONOMINAL ENCLITICS. Most of the enclitic pronouns may be used either subjectively or objectively. The objective forms of the second person are formed from the corresponding subjective forms by the addition of *-m-i-*, perhaps identical with the *-m-i-* of independent *im-i-* THOU; *-ŋum-i-* < *-ŋwĩm-i-* (§ 3, 3, d). The dual animate enclitic *-ʔ . . . mĩ-* is a subjective element; it is outwardly identical with *-ʔ . . . mĩ-*, the third person plural animate invisible element, but, though in certain cases very difficult to keep apart from the latter (which, when the verb is singular in form, necessarily has a dual reference), is clearly distinct from it, as it may refer to all animate persons, including the third person animate visible. *-vĩ-* is only used in a possessive sense and is evidently somewhat in a class by itself. The position of the pronominal enclitics with reference to other enclitic elements has been already spoken of (see § 19, 4).

The enclitic pronouns are closely related, for the greater part, to the corresponding independent pronouns. The first person singular *-n-i-* is connected with, though not identical with, the independent *nĩ'*, *nĩ-*; this vocalic alternation is probably an old Uto-Aztekan feature, cf. Nahuatl independent *nē* I with proclitic *nī-* I, ME. The other enclitics of the first person are identical with the corresponding independent pronouns, *t-* becoming spirantized to *-r-* (*-tc-* after *-i-*). The *-ʔ* of the second person singular is entirely peculiar to the enclitic series; *-ŋwĩ-* and *-ŋum-i-* of the plural are doubtless spirantized from **mĩ(m-i)-*, cf. independent *mʷĩmʷ-i-*. The visible forms of the third person are compounded of demonstrative *-a-* and the pronominal elements *-ŋa-*, *-mĩ-*, and *-q-a-* already discussed in § 39, 1. The invisible forms are compounded of an accessory *-ʔ-* and the same pronominal elements, a *-w-* being inserted in the animate singular and

the inanimate. This -' . . . -w- may be a specialized form of demonstrative 'u'- THAT (invisible). The reflexive possessive -vī- seems to have no independent analogue, unless, indeed, it be connected with relative pī- (§ 45); cf. probably also Shoshonean *pī- HE, HIS (Cahuilla *pe* HE, *pehe*- HIS; San Juan Capistrano *po*- HIS).

(2) USE OF SUBJECTIVE FORMS. The subjective enclitics may be used as the subject of a non-subordinate verb or as the object of an imperative (§ 52). The animate dual -' . . . mī-, however, of which examples will be given separately, functions only as a subject, sometimes also as a possessive. Subjective examples of enclitic pronouns, attached both to verbs and to other parts of speech, are:

- ivī'ḡuntcar'ḡani* did I take a drink?
ya'a'ixv-n'ixa' 'ḡai' would that I might die!
a'ivwani pīni'k'aiva' now-I shall-see
qa'yīracmi we 2 (inclus.) sing.
qa'q'a(i)yīracḡwa we (inclus.) sing
pō'aq'axaitcaḡwa we (inclus.) have lice
qa'yīnim'I we 2 (exclus.) sing
qa'yī'i thou singest
aḡa'm'iantca' pA'qa'ḡu whom-plur.-preterit-thou kill? whom (2) did you kill?
pA'qa'ḡuḡi-v'a-nuḡwū you 2 will get killed
impi'ḡw an-i'k'arīi' what-obj.-you (plur.) do-sit-present? what do you 2 do as (you) sit?
ivī'ḡuntcar'ḡa-ḡa did he take a drink?
qanu'a-ḡa pīn-i'k'a' house-obj.-he see, he see(s) (the) house
pA'qa'ḡuḡiay'īḡwa he (inv.) was killed (long ago)
uḡwa'i'k'aiyīaq'A it (vis.) hangs
taḡi'p-aq-w aivw uru'a near-it (inv.) now is
qa'q'a(i)yīamī they (vis.) sing
axa'n-ixaiaim 'ani'm-i' what-do-subordinating-they (vis.) do-usitative? why do they always do so?
a'a(i)yūqwa(i)yīm'ī they (inv.) are good
m'w'a'amī qarī'p-īḡa' there-they (inv.) dwelt

In connection with the use of second person singular -' certain peculiar contraction phenomena are to be noted. Ordinarily the pronominal -' does not amalgamate with a ' in the last syllable of the word to which it is attached (e. g. from -ḡwa'ai- TO GO IN ORDER TO is formed *na'u'ḡwaixwa'ai'* GO THOU AND HANG THYSELF!), but in

other cases such amalgamation takes place, so that no specific pronominal element is apparent at all. This is notably the case with interrogative *-ru'a-*, e. g.:

iv'i'yīro'^a art thou drinking? (< *-ro'α-* + *-'*; not *-ro'α'*)

cu(w)a'ru' nən'c'i' maybe you'll dream

Probably this difference of treatment has something to do with the difference between inherent and accessory' (§ 15, 1). Furthermore, the pronominal *-'* is lost in certain cases, notably after *qatcu-* NOT, after demonstrative *ai-* (§ 43, 5), and before *ai-* TO SAY and *an-i-* TO DO; a final *-a* is then elided before following *a-*. Examples are:

qatcu' n'a'n-ia'ap'a not-thou say-negative, do not say anything

a'i(y) iḡir a'imūA that-obj.-thou indeed say-usitative, you are indeed wont to say (= *ai-a'* *iḡir*, cf. *a'ian iḡir* that-I indeed)

**m'w'a'niḡaim'i aik'zA* that-do-resultative-usitative-thou said; remains like that, you said (= *-m'ia-* *ai-*)

i'ṭi'a'n-i aik'zA too-bad-thou say, (it is) too bad (that) you say (= *-n'ia-* *ai-*, cf. *i'ṭi'a'n-ian aik'zA* it is too bad that I say)

man-i'ḡumpa'nṭi'ḡw aik'zA that-do-momentaneous-future-participle-him (inv.)-thou say; being about to do thus to him, you say (= *-ḡwa-* *ai-*; for combination of enclitic pronouns, see § 41, 2, a, end)

aḡa'n-iḡai 'anik'zA what-do-subordinating-thou do? why do you do so? (= *-ḡai'* *'ani-*)

The third person inanimate enclitic pronouns (*-aq-a-* and *-'* . . . *ḡwa-*) are very often used, as in English, in an impersonal sense, particularly in references to the weather. Examples are:

uḡwa'(i)yḡiaḡA it is raining (said by one who sees it raining)

uḡwa'(i)yḡiḡWA it is raining (said by one who does not see it rain)

nṭa'va-n'i'aḡWA it will blow

aḡa''ḡ uḡwa'i' who-it (inv.) then? who is it, then?

Subjective examples of animate dual *-'* . . . *m-i-* are:

mamī ḡa'y'imī they 2 (vis.) sing (not equivalent to *ḡa'y'imī* they 2 inv. sing, as *ma'mī* implies visibility, but to *ḡa'y'iamī* they 2 sing; in *mamī ḡa'y'imī* duality is expressly indicated by *-'* . . . *m-i-*, in *ḡa'y'iamī* merely implied because of singular form of verb)

mamī'ntea' pī'pī'tci'imī they 2 (vis.) arrived

tamī'ntea' pī'pī'tci'imī we 2 (inclus.) arrived

tamī ḡanū'va'm ḡnū'n'nī we-2 (inclus.) house-at-dual do-continuative-present, we 2 stay at (the) house (= *ḡanū'va-ram ḡnū'n'nī*)

*m̄im*¹ *qa'xai'im̄* *ū'qa'i'* we (exclus.) sing-subordinating-dual eat-present, we 2 (excl.) eat while singing
m̄im̄ *qa'y'im̄* you 2 sing (contrast *m̄im̄* *qa'q'ai'* you [plur.] sing)

(3) USE OF OBJECTIVE FORMS. Objective forms are used as objects of transitive verbs, as subjects of subordinate verbs, and as possessives. For their use in subordinate verb forms, see § 55, 1. Possessives, exemplified only in noun forms, are treated below (4). Examples of enclitic pronouns in a properly objective sense are:

qu'qwi't-u'ac:uyaywanoani would that they (indef.) would shoot me!
 I wish I would get shot!

uw'a'entini ya'q̄q̄ik-i there-being-me fetch-to-hither, bring (it) there to me

uḡwa'r̄iram arī *teuxwi'ȳiram* rain-us 2 (inclus.) it approaches-us 2, the rain approaches us 2 (inclus.) (note that *arī*, § 42, 6, refers to *uḡwa'r̄i*, while *-ram*, which comes in between, anticipates *-rami* of following verb)

qwi'ayanfiray un̄i'v̄itciȳiraywa bear-us (inclus.) comes-to-attack-us (inclus.)

qu'qwi't-u'ac:uyaywan̄iminoA would that we (exclus.) would get shot!
pa'iy'im̄ calls for thee

'u'r̄um un̄i'ts maxa'r̄iv̄a-n̄t̄i'm̄ that (invis. inan.)-thee then protect-future-participle-thee, that will (be) protecting you
ava'ḡwiḡumi yua'm̄miava' it-in-you (plur.) carry-along-will, (he) will carry you (plur.) along in it

no'n̄n̄intciayA carry-continuative-participle-him (vis.), who carries him around

n̄i' qatcu'ayA qa't-uiḡwa'a I not-him (vis.) sing-causative-negative, I do not let him sing

cina'ḡwaav̄iḡwa pa'qa'ḡup̄iya'aiḡwa coyote-him (inv.) killed-him (inv.)

man'o'q-oaqA pu'teu'teurywar̄i all (obj.)-it (vis.) knowing, knowing it all

n̄i' tav̄aqA t̄o'tsi'a'ayA I hit-it (vis.) head-obj.-his (vis.), I hit his head
i'm̄i pu'teu'teurywa'ȳiqwa thou knowest it (inv.)

tu'u'map̄iya'aik-w uru'w̄iA (he) picked-them (invis. inan.)-up arrow-sticks (obj.), he picked up arrow-sticks

qatcu'uḡwa nanqa'p̄i'ya' not-it (inv.) (he)-heard

n̄i' mari'n-a(i)ȳiam̄ I chase them (vis.)

n̄i' pa'qa'ḡum'i I kill them (inv.)

(4) USE OF OBJECTIVE FORMS AS POSSESSIVE PRONOMINAL ENCLITICS. In a possessive sense enclitic pronouns can be used only with nouns. Inasmuch, however, as such an enclitic, even when appended to a noun, can have objective (or, in most cases, also subjective) significance, a theoretical ambiguity sometimes results. Thus, a form like *qan'ani* HOUSE-OBJ.-I (or ME, MY) may be interpreted as signifying either MY HOUSE (obj.) or I (DO SO AND SO TO) A HOUSE. The form of the whole sentence or the context generally removes the ambiguity. In practice a noun with possessive enclitic is generally followed by a postnominal article-pronoun, e. g. *qan'an arī* MY-HOUSE (OBJ.) IT, in which case no ambiguity is possible. Examples of possessive enclitics are:

puŋqu'ni my horse; *qu'tcu'mpuŋquŋwīni* my cattle (lit., buffalo-pets)
atī'ni pa'tea'n- α'rī tō'tō'q-wa'aŋqī this-me moccasin-my it patch

(distributively)- for, patch these moccasins of mine for me
tī'ŋī'vūrami friend-our (dual inclusive); you and I who are friends
 (song form)

pi'vī'araŋwa mother (distributively)-our (inclus.), our (inclus.)
 mothers

paa'amī thy aunt; *paa'(i)'yami* thy aunt (obj.)

pi'a'ru'a'm aro'a mother-interrogative- thy is, is it your mother?

pu(y)a'ŋum u'ŋwa mother-your (plur.) she, your (plur.) mother

taŋa'n-a-x-ituywa-ŋa knee-in-to-his (vis.), into his knee

pavi'ŋwa his (inv.) elder brother

aru'ana'ŋwa be-verbal noun-his (inv.), his being, his property

arī'e'u taŋwa'q arī that (inan.) tooth-its (vis.) it, that tooth of it

yaŋa'-ma-q-a end-at-its, at its end

A'si'a'(i)ya'q-wa its surface, bark (obj.)

na'a'vŋwa-m- aŋa chief-possessed-their (vis.) he, their chief

pi(y)a'amū their (inv.) mother

Instead of *-am-ī-* THEIR (vis.) and *-' . . m-ī-* THEIR (inv.) are sometimes found the corresponding singular forms *-aŋa-*, *-' . . ŋwa-*. This takes place, though not always, when the person referred to by the enclitic pronoun precedes with the plural animate suffix *-ŋwī-* (*-m-ī-*; § 48, 1), evidently in order to avoid a double plural. Analogous phenomena will meet us again (§ 41, 1, e; § 42, 2 and 5). Examples of this "number dissimilation" in possessive forms are:

qum-a'ŋwā-m- aŋa na'a'v'ŋwa husband-plural-objective-their he
 (= them; § 42, 2, end) chief-his (inv.; = their inv.); their-husbands

(obj.) their-chief, chief of their husbands (for possessive use of noun objectives see § 49,2; for pleonastic use of possessive pronoun, below)

a't-iḡwanvā'aḡwa good-possessed-plural-obj.-his (inv.), their (inv.)
good ones (anim. obj.), good ones (anim. obj.)

The reflexive possessive *-vī-* occurs only in objective forms, i. e. after objective *-a-*, *-ya-* (§ 49, 1); after nominalizing *-n-a-* (§ 25, 3); and after postpositions, which are syntactically equivalent to the objective (§ 50, 3). The reflexive possessive indicates that the possessor is the same person as the subject of the sentence. Ordinarily it refers to the third person, but it may also be employed in first and second personal references. Examples of its use are:

qanū 'u'ra' pa'a'iaḡ uḡwa house (obj.) it-towards aunt-obj.- own she
(= her; § 42, 4), (he went) towards the house of his aunt
o'αḡ māḡa'c'u qwī'i' he takes his own arrow
puḡqu'ḡwīαḡ qoḡo'i' kills his own horses
qanū'a-ḡ pī'pī'teipīḡa' house-at-own arrived, (he) arrived at his
own house
pa'c'ḡw'αiḡ tōḡo'q-wipīḡa' ran off with his own daughter
ya'a'iq'wō'aivā' yaḡa'n'av um'a'naḡḡwa let-(him)-die crying-own
therewith, let him die with his crying
tīw'p'iaḡ-ayav u'ra' land-possessed-plural (§ 48, 2)-obj.-own it-
toward, towards their own lands
i'mi pu'(")i'yaḡ wītu'v'uaq-aiva' thou eye-obj.-own cover-shall,
you shall cover your eyes
nī' mava'ac' ari'A iḡqa'nvīatsiaḡ pa(i)yū'ḡupīḡa' I there-again that
(inan. obj.) cave-owned-little-obj.-own returned, I returned there
in that same little cave of mine

Explicitly plural (or dual) forms of the third person reflexive possessive are also found; they are compounded of *-am-ī-* THEIR (vis.) or *-'* . . . *m-ī-* THEIR (inv.) and *-vī-*, theoretical *-'* . . . *m-īvī-* appearing, however, as *-'* . . . *m-ovī-*, *-'* . . . *m-avvī-*. Examples are:

qanū'vā-ntuxwa-mīḡ to their own house
puḡqu'tsia-mīḡ their (2) own dear horse (obj.)
pōrō'm'amauḡ, -moḡ with their (2) own canes (cf. *pōrō'ma(u)ḡ* with his own cane); *pōrō'ḡ(w)ama(a)mauḡ* with their own canes (for *-q-a-* see § 48, 2)

Explicitly dual forms of the reflexive possessive are made by

compounding *-vĩ-* with animate dual *-'* . . . *mĩ-*: *-vĩ'mĩ-* THEIR 2 OWN. This form, as contrasted with *-'* . . . *m·ovĩ-* discussed above, shows clearly that third person animate plural invisible *-'* . . . *mĩ-* is not identical with animate dual *-'* . . . *mĩ-*, though it seems sometimes to intercross it in usage. Examples of *-vĩ'mĩ-* are:

naṽa'ḫitsiḡw αmĩ yu'a'pĩḡai'aqa'mĩ tu'cu'n-a-ḡA pi(y)a'(i)yavĩ'mĩ
two-brothers they carried-it (vis.)-dual grinding-her mother-obj.-
own-dual; the two brothers carried what she, their (2) mother,
ground

uv^wa'a'mĩ qarĩ'pĩḡa'aimĩ qan'u'ḡḡwA pi(y)a'(i)yavĩ'mĩ qaniv^a
there-they (inv.) stayed-dual house-objective-her mother-obj.-
own-dual house-at; there they 2 stayed (at) her house, at their
(2) mother's house

(5) PLEONASTIC FORMS. Double (or even more frequent) expression of pronominal elements is very common in Paiute. Examples of the repetition of the subjective or objective pronoun, both pronouns enclitic or one enclitic and the other independent, have occurred in preceding lists. There is a marked tendency for the objective enclitic pronoun to attach itself to the verb even if it is elsewhere expressed in the sentence; in transitive sentences the enclitic subject seems to be normally attached to the verb only in combination with the enclitic object (§ 41, 2, a). Particularly characteristic is the employment of enclitic possessives together with genitives (i. e. objectives) of the corresponding independent pronoun, e. g.:

nĩ'n^uA pavĩ'tsini me my-elder brother
maḡa'ia paa'aḡA him his-aunt
pi'xutsiḡwĩm imi'a pigs-thy thee, thy pigs
imi'a paa'i'ami thee aunt-obj.-thy, thy aunt (obj.)

Pleonasm is abundantly illustrated also in nouns, which are often anticipated or redundantly referred to by pronouns, independent or enclitic. Of such usages also examples have already been given. Particularly frequent is the occurrence of an objective enclitic pronoun of the third person with an objective noun, e. g. I SEE-IT HOUSE (OBJ.) as equivalent of I SEE HOUSE (OBJ.). In genitive constructions this is almost the rule, e. g. *paa'ia-ḡA qan'aḡA* AUNT-OBJ.-HIS HOUSE-HER, HIS AUNT'S HOUSE; also *paa'ia-ḡA qani*.

(6) COMBINATIONS OF INDEPENDENT AND ENCLITIC PRONOUNS.

Independent and enclitic pronouns are often combined into a single phonetic group or "word," the independent or enclitic element being either subjective or objective. Thus, instead of saying *i'mi pA'qa'-ɣumpa-n-ia-ŋA* THOU KILL-WILL-HIM, one can attach objective *-aŋA* to *imi*: *imi'aŋA pA'qa'ɣumpa-n-i'* THOU-HIM KILL-WILL. The following types of combination occur:

(a) *Independent subject + enclitic object*, e. g.:

- nĩ'imi pA'qa'ɣumpa-n-i'* I-thee kill-shall
nĩ'ɣumi mqi'mpa-ɣumi I-you (plur.) lead-will-you
nĩ'aŋA pu'teu'teuɣwai' I-him (vis.) know
nĩ'xwa'aŋWA pA'qa'ɣu I-preterit-him (inv.) kill, I killed him
nĩ'aq iwi'ɣu I-it (vis.) drink, I've drunk it
nĩ'amĩ qoxo'iva' I-them (vis.) will kill
tam'aŋA pA'qa'ɣumpa' we 2 (inclus.)-him (vis.) will kill
taŋwa'aŋwa'a mama'iva-mpi' we (inclus.)-him (inv.)-perhaps (§ 19, 2, n) find (distributively)-future-dubitative, we (inclus.) might find him
imini pA'qa'ɣumpa' thou-me wilt kill
imi'iqWA pA'qa'ɣumpa' you will kill him (inv.)
mĩm'i'ya-ŋA to'na you (plur.)-dual imperative (§ 52)-him (vis.) punch! you 2 punch him!
u'u'ɣvani'ami fi'ni'aŋqĩq-a'aimi he (inv.)-like-thee tell-to-perfective-thee, it seems that he has been telling you
uŋwa'e'uqWA qatcu''qWA pi'ni'n-aip'i'a'a he (inv.)-it (inv.) not-it (inv.) see-negative-past, he did not see it
mam'i'ntcaq-A NA'ci'm'iaq-A they (vis.)-preterit-it (vis.) forget-it (vis.), they forgot it

A variant of this type is that in which the independent and enclitic pronouns are both subjective, the independent pronoun being used predicatively, e. g.:

- imi'nteu'a-q-A nĩ'niA pĩŋwa'ntuɣwaq-ainan-ianĩ* thou-interrogative-it (vis.) me (= my) whom-depending-on-perfective-verbal noun-like-my, it is not you on whom I have been depending (for use of "it" as equivalent of substantive verb, see § 56, 3)

(b) *Independent object (possessive) + enclitic subject*, e. g.:

- nĩ'nia' puŋwa'ruw'a-n-ianĩ* me-thou wife-make-will-me, you will marry me

nĩ'na-ŋ ampa'xanani naŋqa'q-a' me (= my)-he (vis.) talking-my
hear; he hears my talking, me talking
imi'ani nam-i'm-ŋwɛ-ava'ami thee-I first-shove-will-thee, I'll
shove you (in) first
imi'āŋwa pA²qq'umpa' thee-he (inv.) will kill
ŋŋa'iacuani pĩnu'k-a' him-a- (§ 19, 3, a)-I see, I saw him
man-ɔ'q ɣm-wi'amü qw'ɔ'ip-ĩŋa' all (obj.) them (invis.)-they (inv.)
killed, they killed all of them

A special variety of this type is that in which the independent objective functions as the subject of a subordinate clause, the enclitic subject as the subject of the main clause, e. g.:

nĩ'niantea-ŋa tĩ'qa'xuni yaya'a-xA me-preterit-he eat-while-me cry
(momentaneously); while I was eating, he began to cry (-*ntea-ŋa* is
logically cut loose from *yaya'a-xA*, while *nĩ'nia-* anticipates -*ni* of
tĩ'qa'xuni)
imi''aq-wA naŋa'i'aik'am axa'n'ni tĩw'ɪ'p-i tĩ²qa'ŋ-wɪxo' thee-it (inv.)
get-angry-when-thee how earth appear-would? if you get angry, how
would (the) earth appear? (*imia-* anticipates -' . . . *m*, -' . . . *q-wA*
anticipates *tĩw'ɪ'p-i*)

(c) *Independent object + enclitic object.* The first object may be the subject of a subordinate clause, the second its object, e. g.:

taŋwa'(i)'yaq-wA mama'aik-²A us (inclus.)-it (inv.) find (distributively)-
when, when we find it
uŋwa'iacu'q-wA m²a'ni²tĩk'aq-uŋwa him (inv.)-it (inv.) that-do-
causative-perfective-when-him (inv.), when he has caused to do
it (*uŋwa'ia-cu-* anticipates -' . . . *ŋwa*)
mam-i'Acuaq-A nɔv'k-a(u)x-U them (vis.)-it (vis.) cover (with bark)-
plural-when, when they covered it with bark

Or, conversely, the first object may be the logical object, the second the logical subject of the subordinate clause, e. g.:

'i'tciarəŋwa mam-a'aik-²A this (inan. obj.)-us (inclus.) find-when,
when we find this

Still other combinations are possible, e. g. independent possessive + object:

imi''əŋwa' a'ik-ainA thee (= thy)-him (inv.) having-said, thy
having said (about) him

§ 41. Combinations of enclitic pronouns.

Enclitic pronouns are often combined, the union of two such pronouns being extremely common, that of three not at all rare. The order of elements is rigidly determined by form, not by function (e. g. *-aḡan-i-* HE-ME, I-HIM, I-HIS, HIS-ME, MY-HIM, HE-MY). The resulting theoretical ambiguities are generally resolved by the context, particularly as the pleonastic usages already referred to (§ 40, 5) give opportunity for further limitation of the syntactical possibilities. Thus, *nī' -aḡani* can only mean I-HIM or I-HIS; *-aḡani -ni* (verb form) can hardly mean anything but HE-ME. The following table gives a survey of combinations of two enclitic pronouns; the horizontal entries are subjective, the vertical objective. As a rule the pronominal elements are preserved intact, but certain modifications need to be noted.

The combined forms listed in the table apply not only to combinations of subject and object of the same verb but to all other combinations of subjective and objective, including possessive, forms. The table also includes combinations of objective + objective enclitics, insofar as objective forms are identical with subjective forms; e. g. *-aḡa'ami-* HE-THEE, HE-THY applies also to HIM-THEE, HIM-THY, HIS-THEE. Special double objective forms are:

-'mini- thee-me, me-thee

-ḡumini- you (obj.)-me, me-you (obj.)

-'minim^wi- thee-us (also us-thee, we-thee)

-ḡuminim^wi- you (obj.)-us (also us-you, we-you)

(1) MORPHOLOGY OF COMBINED FORMS. The following rules are followed in the combination of enclitic pronouns:

(a) The combination of the first person singular subject and the second person object, which should theoretically result in *-'mini-* and *-ḡumini-*, is simplified to *-'mi-* and *-ḡumi-* (properly THEE and YOU OBJ.), the first person being thus merely implied.

(b) The second person singular subjective element (-') always follows an element of the first or third person, also the objective form of the second person.

(c) In all combinations of the first and second persons but those coming under (b), the second personal element precedes (e. g. *-ḡwini-* YE-ME, *-'mini-* THEE-ME).

(d) In combinations of the third person with either the first or second person, the element referring to the third person precedes. Note, however, *-ḡwi'imī-* YE-THEM (INV.).

(e) In combinations of the third person, the singular animate precedes the plural animate, while the animate is always preceded by the inanimate. Furthermore, two *a*-vowels coming together in composition do not contract to *a'* but to *a'* (or *'a*); e. g. *-aŋa'ŋa* < *-aŋa* + *-aŋa*, *-aŋa'ŋa* < *-aŋa* + *-aŋa*. "Number dissimilation" (cf. § 40, 4) takes place when two animate plurals are combined, the first enclitic becoming singular in form; hence *-aŋ'amī* < *-amī-amī* as well as *-aŋa-amī*, *-ŋwa'mī* < *-mī-mī* as well as *-ŋwa'-mī*. Such a form as *-amī'mī* THEY 2-THEM (VIS.) is compounded of *-amī* and animate dual *-' . . mī*. A visible enclitic element is never combined with an invisible one (e. g. *-aŋa'ŋwa* is impossible). Should it be necessary to contrast a visible subject or object with an invisible one, recourse must be had to the separation of the subject and object, e. g. *uŋwa'c'uq'w iŋi'va-n'iaq'a* HE (INV.)-IT (INV.) DRINK-WILL-IT (VIS.), HE (INV.) WILL DRINK IT (VIS.); in combined form only *iŋi'va-n'iaq'a'aŋa* HE (VIS.) WILL DRINK IT (VIS.) or *iŋi'va-n'iaq'wa'aŋwa* HE (INV.) WILL DRINK IT (INV.) are possible.

(f) The objective reflexive possessive *-vī* has not been included in the table. It does not seem to combine with elements of the first and second persons. It is very frequently combined with enclitic elements of the third person, which it follows: *-aŋavī*, *-ŋwavi*, *-amīvī*, *-mīvī*, *-aqavi*, *-ŋwavi*. It precedes the animate dual, however: *-vī'imī*.

(g) The animate dual, which is regularly subjective, follows all third personal elements, including *-vī* (see f above), but apparently precedes the enclitics of the first and second persons. Data, however, are quite imperfect for the latter cases. It may be noted once more that subjective animate plurals of the third person function as duals if the verb is singular in form.

(2) USES OF TWO COMBINED ENCLITIC PRONOUNS. The relations entered into by the two pronominal enclitics are of various sorts. The following are the main types that have been observed:

(a) *Subject and object of main verb.* Examples of this most frequently represented of types are:

a'χawantciv'a-an'amī I shall hide thee

pīnī'k'ava-ŋum' I will see you (plur.)

um-a'ŋanī pa'qa'ŋupīyai(y)aŋa it-with-him (vis.)-I killed-him (vis.), I killed him with it

man-ɔ'q-ɔaq-anɪ nɔ-'i' all (obj.)-it (vis.)-I carry-present, I carry them (inan.) all on (my) back

iv'ɪ'q-wani tɔnɔ'va'q-wA let-it (inv.)-I stab-shall -it (inv.), let me stab, it

na'(i)yɪ(ʔ)amɪni I call them (vis.) by name

iv'ɪ'q-warami sɔtsɪ'k-aiɔa' let-it (inv.)- we 2 (inclus.) peep-shall, let us 2 peep at it

iv'ɪ'q-yawarawA pA'pa'q-qumpa-ɣwA let-plural imperative (§ 52) -him (inv.)-we (inclus.) kill (distributively)- shall-him (inv.), let us all kill him

uv'w-a'ntux-wAcutca-ɣanɪmi cɪm-ɪ'ak-ɪ it-at-to-same-preterit-him (vis.)-we (excl.) leave-hither, at that same place we (excl.) left him and came away

tu'qwu'aɪŋqɪr'ɔni' shame-die-to-interrogative-me-thou, are you ashamed of me?

aza'n-ɪntca-ɣa'a pA'qa'ɣoɣA how-preterit-him (vis.)-thou kill-him (vis.)? how did you kill him?

nana'ɣqʰAgaitcu'a'q-ɣwɪ hear (distributively)-perfective-interrogative-it (vis.)-ye, did you (plur.) hear it?

'an-ɔ'q-ɔɣway'wan ɣni'k-ɜA when-preterit-he (inv.)-me so-do? when did he do so to me?

maɔ'va-mɪ'pɪ-ɣwarami' find-will-dubitative-he (inv.)-us 2 (inclus.)-perhaps, he might find us 2 (inclus.).

tiv'ɪ'tsɪɣatsa-ɣanɪmi he (vis.) obeyed us (excl.); we 2 (excl.) obeyed him (vis.).

tɔnɔ'va-n-ɪar-ɔa-ɣa'ɣA will he (vis.) punch him (vis.)?

niɣwɪ'ɣwa-ɔ'q-ɣA mɔ'ɔ'aɸɪ pɪnu't-uk'a' person-plural-obj.-it (vis.)-he hand-obj.- own see-cause-perfective; he let people see it, his hand
ava'ɣwɔtca-ɣ'amɪ watcɪ'ɣu it-in-preterit-he (vis.)-them (vis.) put, he put them 2 in; also they 2 put them 2 (or him) in

ava'ɣwɔtca-ɣ'amɪ watcɪ'q-ɣu they (more than 2) put them 2 (or him) in (note plural -q-a- of verb); *ava'ɣwɔtca-ɣ'amɪ ɣun-a'ɣu* he (or they 2) put them (more than 2) in (singular-dual or plural nature of object determined by verb stem: *watcɪ-* to put 1 or 2, *ɣun-a-* to put more than 2)

pa'ʔ-ɣawatcuɣwayɔ'ɔmɪ qwɪ'p-ɪɣa' water-into-them (inv.)-they (inv.) took (sing.-dual subject and object), they 2 took them 2 into (the) water

man-ɔ'q-uaq-amɪ nava'ɪ'pɪɣaiA'qa'amɪ all (obj.)-it (vis.)- they (vis.) divided (sing.-dual)-it (vis.)-they (vis.), all of it they 2 divided

pa(i)yu'aŋq̄iq'v'a m'wini water-bring-for-hither-shall-dual-me, (ye)
2 shall bring water for me
man'ɔ'q'oam'imi niŋwi'm-aŋwip'ɣai(y)am'imi all (obj.)-them (vis.)-
dual people-cause-past-them (vis.)-dual, (they) 2 caused them all
to be people

As a variant of this type may be considered that in which the objective element functions as the object not of the main verb, but of a subordinate form, say a gerund in *-tsi-* (§ 55, 1, a), e. g.:

taw'tsɛca-ŋani qA'qa'rī hit-gerund-preterit-he-me run; having hit
me, he ran off (note that *-ni* serves as object of *taw'tsi-*, while *-ca-*
aŋa- belong to following *qA'qa'rī*)

(b) *Subject (objective form) of subordinate clause and subject of main clause.* Examples are:

pt'ciqa'ŋwacni nē' cu'a'iva' arrive-if-him (inv.)-I I be-glad-shall; if
he arrives, I shall be glad
tī'qa'xutca-ŋ'aŋa qaxa'' eat-when-preterit-him (vis.)-he (vis.) sing
(momentaneously); while he ate, he (another) sang
ŋwɛd'ŋUq̄wa'q'wa' pata'q'wa'va' rain-momentaneous-if-it (inv.)-
thou get-wet-future; if it rains, you'll get wet
ya'a'ik'ɛA'qa-m'in nī' paɣ'i'q'w'aiva' die-plur.-when-them (vis.)-I
I go-off-shall; when they die, I shall go off
wū''amīn' aik' av'x'umi nan''atsiŋwɛA here-them (inv.)-I say lie
(sing.-dual)-as-them (vis.) reciprocal-mother-diminutive-plural-obj.;
here, I say, as they 2, mother and son, were lying

(c) *Subject (objective form) and object of subordinate clause.* Examples are:

tī'qa'q'axuA'qaraŋWA eat-plur.-when-it (vis.)-us (inclus.), when we
eat it
ŋni'xu(w)aq'aŋA while he (vis.) was doing it (vis.)
ŋni'ŋumŋq̄ucampa'q'amī do-momentaneous-usitative-when-only-it
(vis.)-them (vis.), even though they did it customarily

In such cases, however, the objective form of the second person plural is replaced by the subjective, *-ŋwi-* (§ 40), e. g.:

pīŋqa'ŋniɣaiŋwī'imi continuously-do-as-ye-them (inv.), as you
(plur.) kept doing so to them

(d) *Subject of main verb and possessive (of nominal object or noun with postposition). Examples are:*

i'p-iṃwaiairūam' yu'k-ʔA old-husband-obj.- interrogative-thy-thou
do, are you doing so to your old husband?

o'atca-ŋ'anya qwī'i arrow-obj.-preterit-his (vis.)-he (vis.) take, he
took his (another's) arrow

o'atca-ŋaḫi qwī'i arrow-obj.-preterit-he (vis.)-own take, he took his
own arrow

qurū'a-m'a-q-anya qar'i'i top-on-its (vis.)-he (vis.) sits, he sits on top
of it

qan-i'wa-ŋ'amū pīcī'χwa'aip-īya' house-at-his-they (vis.) arrive (sing.-
dual)-go-past, at his house they 2 went and arrived

(e) *Possessive and object.* In most of the examples obtained the possessive is attached to a noun + postposition or to a verbal noun in *-n'a-* (of objective force). The enclitic object is either the (direct or indirect) object of the main verb or of a verbal noun (as in relative constructions in *pī-*, see § 45). Examples are:

qu'qwa'm-anḫi'imini ma(-)'x-A wood-at-being-thy-me give, give me
some of (§ 50, 4, 7) your wood

pīm-a'ŋa'm uR qwa-a'ḡumpa-na which-with-him (vis.)-thy it win-
momentaneous-future-verbal noun, the wherewith thy being about
to beat him, with which you will beat him

pīm-a'ḡwini qwa-ŋa'ḡumpa-n-aḡwim-ini which-with-ye-me win
(distributively)-momentaneous-future-verbal noun-your (plur.)-me,
with which you (plur.) will beat me (note use of subjective *-ḡwī-* after
pīm-a- as equivalent to objective *-ḡwim-i-*; cf. c. above)

pīw'a'ḡwaḫi waci'k-ain u'raip-īya' which-at-him (inv.)- own
having-put it-toward-went, (he) went to where he had put him

atci'm'aq-uq-waḫi yaḡwi'ḡwīn-ḫa' bow-with-obj. (§ 49, 1)-it (inv.)-own
hold-stand-while, while standing and holding it together with his
own bow

taḡa'na-χ'uk-waḫi mara'ḡiḡara' knee-in-it (inv.)-own put-plur.-shall,
(ye) shall put it in (your) own knees

This type of construction can be used in relative clauses even with primarily passive participial *-p-ī-* (§ 25, 5, b), e. g.:

pīm-w'a-x-q'a-m a'rū tū'tu'tcu(w)ap-ī which-with-it (vis.)-their (vis.)
it set-as-landmark (distributively)-past passive partic., the (tree)
wherewith they had marked it

(f) *Object and object.* Two objects may be employed either when the verb is doubly transitive, as with causatives of transitives, or when it possesses a direct and indirect object. Examples are:

- pīni't-ūḫ-aig-wani* (he) let me see it (inv.)
qatcu'A²qan-u(w)ani yu'α'ngiqat'tuava-ḡwa'a not-it (vis.)-indefinite-me carry-for-resultative-impersonal-shall-negative, let no one hold it for me!
nī' maχa'(i)yīaḡ-amī I give it (vis.) to them (vis.)
pu'tcu'tcuṛwat-uiḡ-wamī know-causative-it (inv.)-them (inv.), cause them to know it, teach them how to do it

(3) TWO ENCLITIC PRONOUNS COMBINED WITH INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS. Many combinations are theoretically possible. The following have been noted:

(a) *Independent subject + enclitic object + enclitic object*, e. g.:

- nī'aḡ-aḡa pīni't-ūḫ-a'* I-it (vis.)-him (vis.) see-cause, I let him see it
maḡa'am-ini pa²qa'ngiqw'aigumpa' he-thee-me kill-for-go-momentaneous-shall, he'll kill you "for" me; he'll kill you, my dear

(b) *Independent object (possessive) + enclitic subject and object*, e. g.:

- nī'nianta-ḡa'a nīo'p-at-urw uni'ḡ'uywa* me-past-him (vis.)- thou I-through do-him (inv.), you did so to him through my help
'i'm'ār-ua-m'iram a'χaḡwantciḡmika' these (anim. obj.)-interrogative-they (anim.)-us 2 (inclus.) hide-from-usitative-perfective, they 2 have always been hiding these (people) from us 2

(4) USES OF THREE COMBINED ENCLITIC PRONOUNS. The rules of combination can be easily formulated from those already given (see 1 above); e. g. *-aḡ'am-ini* HE (VIS.)-THEE-ME like *-aḡ'am-i* and *-mini*. The following types of combination have been noted:

(a) *Enclitic subject, first object, and second object*, e. g.:

- pa²qa'ngigumpa-ḡ'am-ini* he will kill thee for me
ma'a'ntca-ḡa'ḡan nī'ni-a-ḡa pa'qa'(u)x-u find-preterit-him (vis.)-he (vis.)-me me-him (vis.) kill-subordinating, he found him killing me
a'χawantciḡḡ'yiḡ-wamī I hide it (inv.) from thee

(b) *Enclitic subject, object, and possessive.* The possessive enclitic generally relates to a second object or to a noun with postposition. Examples are:

pinä's'ixavaa(i)yuay'am'ifï crotch-at-acting (§ 50, 4, 49)-him (vis.; = them)-they (vis.)-own, from between their own legs they (looked at) them

pö.'w'a-q'ayanı wacü'i' trail-at-it (vis.)-his-I put, I put it at his trail
qwaia'ngwApatcuwa'q-waywünı opposite-at-to-its (inv.)-ye-me, on the other side of it you (plur.) (throw) me

(c) *Enclitic possessive (of subject) and two objects*, e. g.:

puwa'A²qa-ŋ'ayA tō'tō'p'A²qa-ŋq̄p'ıyay(y)aq'ayA wife-it (vis.)-his (vis.)-him (vis.) patch (distributively)-for-past-it (vis.)- him (vis.), his wife patched them (inan.) for him

§ 42. *Post-nominal pronouns.*

Post-nominal pronouns (or article-pronouns) are identical in form with the shorter forms of certain of the independent third personal pronouns (or demonstratives). They are closely attached, though not as phonetically amalgamated enclitics, to preceding nouns, participles, adjectives, numerals, and pronouns, which they serve to make clearly denominating terms. Frequently they hold together a group of two or more words as a denominative unit, in which case they may stand after the first word of the group instead of at the end. They are practically equivalent to postposed articles and are differentiated according to number, visibility and invisibility, animate and inanimate, and, to some extent, case. On the whole, case distinctions are neglected and primarily subjective forms often function also as objectives. This seems to indicate a tendency towards development into true articles. Ordinarily an article-pronoun follows immediately upon the denominating term, but sometimes an intervening enclitic (pronominal or other) element separates the two, e. g.

qana'rītsuŋw'aq: umï KANAB-PEOPLE-OBJ.-IT (INV.) THEY (INV.), THE KANAB INDIANS (OBJ.)-IT. The following post-nominal pronouns are in use:

(1) *ayA* HE: animate visible singular, primarily subjective, e. g.:

yu'o'RA²qōp'i'naq'aina-ŋ ayA leg-break-perfective-verbal noun-his (vis.) he (vis.), he whose leg has been broken, the one with a broken leg

naa'vŋ'wa-m ayA their (vis.)-chief he (vis.), their chief

fi-yi'v'w'ıyŋ ayA friend-his (inv.) he (vis.), his (inv.) friend (vis.)

cina'hwandcua'm' aŋA tu'cu't-uig'iml coyote-interrogative-thee he (vis.) grind-causative-present-thee, does (the) Coyote cause you to grind (seeds)?

yu'a'riaq aŋA carry-participle-it (vis.) he (vis.), who carries it away, the carrier of it
am-i'hwant aŋA cu'yuc-U they (vis.)-from-participle he (vis.) one, one of them

The corresponding objective form is also regularly *aŋA*, which replaces theoretical *aŋa'ia*. Examples are:

pi(y)a'(i)yav aŋ aŋa'ŋwa'a mother-obj.-own she (vis.; = her) she-with, with his own mother
wantsi' aŋ aŋa''ura' antelope (obj.) he (vis.; = him) he-toward, toward the antelope
marī'c-amp aŋga'q-wa-nan'wantsi aŋA wī'ci'yaa-ŋA piya'ipī'ya' that (inan.)-only robin (obj.) he (vis.; = him, his) feathers-his (vis.) remained, only those feathers of the robin were left over

For *aŋA* = *amī*, see 2 below.

An unexplained variant of *aŋA* is *aŋWA*, apparently used only after objective forms, e. g.:

cina'hwav(y) aŋWA coyote (obj.) he (= him)
pavi'av aŋWA piŋwa'ia elder brother-obj.-own he (= him, his) wife (obj.), his own elder brother's wife (obj.)

(2) *amī* THEY: animate visible plural, primarily subjective, e. g.:

ova'n'nanqaww amī geese they (vis.), the geese
nava'tsiŋw amī reciprocal-sister-plural they (vis.), the 2 sisters
qani'xantim^w amī house-having-plural they (vis.), the villagers
a'iva(i)yaŋwīn amī companion-plural-my they (vis.), my companions
am-u'c-U waa'(i)y amī to(w)a'tsiŋwīaŋA they two they (vis.) children-his (vis.); they, his two children

The objective form, theoretically *amī'A*, appears regularly as *amī*, e. g.:

mam-i'ac-U fi'ŋi'aŋwī amī qani'n-a-xi(y)am A'qo''ix-U them (vis.) deer (plur. obj.) they (vis.; = them) house-in-them (vis.) sleep-subordinating; while they, the deer, were sleeping in (the) house
qava'ŋwī amī horses (obj.) they (vis.; = them), the horses (obj.)

Instead of *amī* (subjective or objective) is sometimes found, by "number dissimilation" (cf. § 40, 4; § 41, 1, e), the corresponding singular *aya*. This dissimilation takes place after (sometimes before) animate plural *-mī-* or *-mū-* (§ 48, 1) + possessive or objective enclitic pronoun, e. g.:

patcū'hwāy aya daughters-his (vis.) she (vis.; = they), his daughters
pihwa'hwām aya wives-their (vis.) she (vis.; = they), their wives
tahwa'(i)y aya nihwī'a-hwāyaya us (inclus.) he (vis.; = they) people-
 our (inclus.), our people
mam-u'e-u mam-a'rinarimwām aya they (vis.) chasing (distributively)-
 plural-them (vis.) he (vis.; = they), they who chase them
amī may be optionally employed in these cases.

(3) *iya* THIS (ANIM.), HE HERE: animate singular subjective, e. g.:
wiya'a'tsim-a(u)ma'ts iya bear-woman she-here, the bear-woman here
cina'hwav iya coyote he-here, coyote here

The objective form, *iya'ia*, is also found as article-pronoun, e. g.:
cu(w)a'riyik-ʔapīya'a'ihw a'ia'pūtsi iya'ia nearly-miss-plural-past-
 him (inv.) youth (obj.) him-here, (they) commenced to miss the
 youth here (inv.)

(4) *uɣwa* ('*uɣwa*) HE: animate invisible singular, primarily subjective, e. g.:

pavi'n uɣwa elder brother-my he (inv.), my (absent) elder brother
nī'ni uɣwa pi(y)a'ni me she (inv.) mother-my, my (absent) mother
nari'v'uyan 'aro'avatci cv'q'ucamp uɣwa customarily-I wont-to-have
 one-obj.-only he (inv.), I am he who is wont to have only one
 (arrow)
aya'a'xāy 'uɣwa ta'pu'q'wdci he-over-he (vis.; subject of sentence)
 he (inv.) jumping; he, the one who jumps over him, (will have it).
 Note that *-ay* summarizes, as enclitic subject, *aya'a'xā- 'uɣwa*
ta'pu'q'wdci; *'uɣwa* serves as article pronoun of *aya'a'xā- ta'pu'-*
q'wdci

As objective form of *uɣwa* is generally found *uɣwa*, e. g.:

cina'hwav(y)an uɣw a'ik-ʔa coyote-obj.-I he (inv.; = him) say, I
 say (that) coyote (obj.)
nia'v uɣwa qani'vaa(u)ɣwi chief (obj.) he (inv.; = him, his)
 house-in, in the chief's house

pa'qa'quntca'qani qu'tu'c:i uḡwa kill-preterit-him (vis.)-I giant (obj.) he (inv.-him), I have killed the giant

Less frequently the properly objective form, *uḡwa'ia*, is used as article pronoun, e. g.:

tīrī'v'iaḡ uḡwa'i a'ip'ia'ḡwa friend-obj.-own him (inv.; = his) say-past passive partic.-obj.-his (inv.), what (obj.) his own friend had said

For *uḡwa* as equivalent of plural *umī*, see 5 below.

(5) *umī* THEY: animate invisible plural, primarily subjective, e. g.:

mom'q'αḡum iḡīr umī fathers-your (plur.) indeed they (inv.), your fathers indeed

It is also used objectively instead of theoretical *umī'a*, e. g.:

qana'rī tsuḡwī'aq umī mam'a'q'o'mipīa pu'pu'tcutcuḡwaxpī Kanab-people-obj.-it (inv.) they (inv.) bear-dance (obj.) having-learned (distributively), the Kanab Indians' having learned (the) bear dance

"Number dissimilation" frequently takes place here also; *uḡwa* is used instead of *umī* after animate plural *-ḡwī-* + possessive or objective enclitic pronoun, also sometimes after plural *-ḡwī-* alone. Examples are:

ini'a'ḡwīyaipīa'am uḡwa relations-past-objective-thy he (inv.; = them), of your dead relations

piḡwa'ḡwīaraḡw uḡwa wives-obj.-our she (inv.; = them), our wives (obj.)

sī'ra'm'am'a'otsuḡwī'χ'a'm uḡwa Cedar City-women-then-them (vis.) she (inv.; = they); the Cedar City women, then,them

ma'a'caḡwōitsuḡw uḡwa old-women she (inv.; = they), the old women

(6) *arī* IT: inanimate visible subjective, e. g.:

qwa'ci'(y)aḡ arī piya'ipī'ḡa' tail-his (vis.) it (vis.) was-left, his tail was left

pa' arī water it (vis.), the water

pīnū'k'aiaq'a tūmp a'rī look-at-it (vis.) rock it (vis.), look at the rock (objects of imperatives are subjective)

taḡwa'i arī na'a'it'wi'k'anaraḡwa us (inclus.) it (vis.) burn-causative-plural-verbal noun-our (inclus.), the fire that we built

'i'vānt arī here-being it (vis.), what is here
 yu'u'n arī leg-my it (vis.), my leg

(7) 'a'ia IT: inanimate visible objective. The corresponding objective form of arī is not ordinarily arī or arī'A, as one would have expected, but 'a'ia, a true demonstrative form (§ 43, 5). Examples are:

quna'i 'aiA fire (obj.) it (vis. obj.), the fire (obj.)
 pa'ya'η'wia-m 'ai' bowstring-obj.-their (vis.) it (vis. obj.), their
 bowstrings (obj.)
 fiw'w'i'p-i 'aiA man-s'q-oaq-A pu'ca'yaip-i'ya(i)aq-A land (obj.) it (vis.
 obj.) all (obj.)-it (vis.) looked-around-it (vis.), (he) looked around
 all the land

Far less often A'qa'ia, a more properly pronominal form, is used as objective inanimate visible article-pronoun, e.g.:
 'atc'i'A'qaia bow (obj.) it (vis. obj.), the bow (obj.)

(8) urī, uru ('urī) IT: inanimate invisible, primarily subjective, e. g.:

ma'°q'ηw ur thing(s)-his (inv.) it (inv.), his things
 na'a'int ur an'i'k'°A burning it (inv.) does, there is something burning
 qan-i'p-iw'a'ant ur camp-past-at-being it (inv.), what is at an
 abandoned camp, the abandoned camp

It may also be used objectively, instead of theoretical urī'A, uru'A, e. g.:

niηw'i'mpiA ti'qa'va-n'ayw ur liver (obj.) eat-will-verbal noun-his
 (inv.) it (inv.); liver (obj.), the one he will eat; the liver which he
 is to eat

(9) 'a'ia IT: inanimate invisible objective. The exact invisible correspondent of 'aiA (7 above) is 'a'ia, 'wa'ia, a properly demonstrative form (§ 43, 5). It seems to be more frequently used than objective urī. Examples are:

qan'i'va'ayw a'i' house-at-his (inv.) it (inv. obj.), at his house
 pu'tcu'tcu'wapa'ya'aikw aηqa'q'wicari 'a'ia understood-it (inv.)
 lightning (obj.) it (inv. obj.), (he) knew about the lightning
 quna'ian 'ai u'w'a'a'χ a'a'p-i'qov'a' fire-obj.-I it (inv. obj.) it-over
 will-lean-back-and-forth, I will lean back and forth over the fire

Related to 'a'iA as A^zqa'iA is to 'a'iA (7 above) is U^zqwa'iA, which is also not infrequently used as inanimate invisible objective article-pronoun. Examples are:

niŋw'i mɸi U^zqwa'i' tĩzqa'p'ĩya'aik-wA liver (obj.) it (inv. obj.) ate-it (inv.), (he) ate the liver
 A'si'a(i)ya'q-w U'qwa'i' maru''u miŋU pĩya'aik-wA bark-obj.-its (inv.) it (inv. obj.) pulled-it (inv.)-off, (he) pulled off its bark

§ 43. Demonstrative pronouns.

There are four demonstrative stems, as already noted (§ 39, 1): a- THAT (indefinite); i-, i'- THIS; ma-, m^wa'- THAT (visible; referred to); and u-, u'- that (invisible). These stems are not directly used as independent demonstratives (except for rather infrequently employed adverbs: a, ma'; see § 60, 2, d; 3), but need to be combined with other elements. The following types of demonstrative usage may be recognized:

(1) DEMONSTRATIVE STEMS FOLLOWED BY POSTPOSITIONS. These are extremely common and correspond, in function, to inanimate demonstrative pronoun + postposition. Examples are:

ava' that-at, there (indefinite)
 aru'q-wA that-under, under it
 maru'x-wA that (vis.)-to, to it
 mava'ana that (vis.)-on, on it
 m^wa'va' that-at, there (not far away)
 i(y)ε'nu this-at, here, present (< i- a'n-u-)
 i'vü' this-at, here
 i'Upa'a this-through, in this direction
 uv^wa', u'v^wa' that (inv.)-at, there (inv.)
 o'p'a'a (< u-u'p'a'a), o'o'xpa'a (< u'-up'a'a) that (inv.)-through, in yonder direction

(2) DEMONSTRATIVE STEMS + THIRD PERSON PRONOMINAL ELEMENTS. These forms function as independent third personal pronouns (§ 39, 1); as article-pronouns (§ 42); and as enclitic third personal pronouns (§ 40, 1). There is nothing further to be said about them here except to note once more that these personal demonstratives often preserve their proper demonstrative force.

(3) VERBS OF DOING. These are nothing but derivatives in -n-i (§ 26, 2, b) of the demonstrative stems. The idea of DOING, ACTING fre-

quently passes over into that of HAVING SOMETHING HAPPEN TO ONE, BEING. The verbs of doing are: *an-i-* TO DO (indefinitely); *man-i'-*, *m^wa'n-i-* TO DO (as indicated); *in-i'-*, *'i'n-i-* TO DO IN THIS MANNER; *un-i'-*, *'u'n-i-* TO DO IN THAT (narrated, unseen) MANNER. Examples of these verbs are:

- an'xw'aip'iya'* do-went, went in order to do
i(y)en'uan 'anu'n'ni' here-I do-continuative-present, here I am
axa'n-ixai 'ani'k^zA tu'cu'xwa' how-act-subordinating-thou so-do grinding? why are you doing so, grinding? why are you engaged in grinding?
man-i'k^zaq^zya-q^zA do-plural-momentaneous-plural imperative-it (vis.), do (plur.) it in that way (as described)!
manu'mikup'iya' do-moving-inceptive-past, (he) started to do that while in motion
qatcu'ag^z "m^wa'n-ua'ap^zA not-it (vis.) do-negative, don't do that!
"m^wa'nua'nt uwaru"^a that-do-future-participle he-is, he is about to act in that manner, he'll be doing so
in-i'nyaya-q^zA this-do-momentaneous-dual imperative-it (vis.); do it this way, you 2!
'i'nimiacampani'm^zI this-do-travel (plur.)-only-we (exclus.), only this we do when traveling
ynu'm'ampa-n-iani do-usitative-future-I, I shall be wont to do
tcaγi'p^z ynu'nyup'iya' near did, (it) got near
'u'n-wä-p^zI do-future-passive partic., about to be done to

In their absolute form verbs of doing frequently function as adverbs of manner. In this capacity they may be combined with forms of similar morphology that serve as verbs of doing. Examples are:

- a'n-i* in that (indef.) way
man-i'ntca-γan ynu'nyu thus-preterit-him- I do-momentaneous, I did so (as described) to him
"m^wa'n-uaγ 'a'ik^zA in that way he said
i'n-i in this way
ynu'c-un-ia thus-again-like, just as before
ynic^z an-i'p'iya' thus-again did, acted in the same way, did the same thing
"u'n'ni in that (inv.) way

(4) SUBSTANTIVE VERBS. From the demonstrative stems *a-* and

u- are formed the verbs of being: *aro'a-* TO BE (VIS.) and *uru'a-* TO BE (INV.). See § 56, 1.

(5) *ai-*, *mai-*. These are extended forms of demonstrative *a-* and *ma-*. They are used as independent inanimate demonstrative pronouns, particularly with verbs of saying, (talking, hearing). However, they are not ordinarily found except followed by pronominal enclitics. Their objective forms are *aia-*, *maia-* (probably < *a-ya-*, *ma-ya-*). As to usage, *ai-* is best translated as THAT (indefinite), *mai-* as THAT (quoted, referred to).

Examples of subjective *ai-* are:

a'ini nanqa'q'aip'ini that-my heard (partic.)-my, that (is) what I heard

a'i(y)aq'A qu'q'o'q-wikanaŋum ari that-it (vis.) shoot (distributively)-plural-verbal noun-your (plur.) it (vis.), that (is) it which you (plur.) shoot at

Examples of objective *aia-* are:

a'ian 'a'imi that (obj.)-I say- usitative, that's what I always say
a'ia-ŋ gir 'a'imi that (obj.)-he (vis.) indeed say-usitative, that's what he indeed always says

'a'i iŋir 'aik-ʔA that (obj.)-thou indeed said, that indeed you said (for *'ai* < *'aia*, see § 40, 2)

Curiously enough, objective *aia-* becomes *ai-* before the interrogative, the two elements combining as *aitcu'a-*, *aintcu'a-*, e. g.:

a'itcuan (or *a'intcuan*) *a'ik-ʔA* that (obj.)-interrogative-I said, did I say that?

a'intcua-ŋ 'a'imi that (obj.)-interrogative-he (vis.) say-usitative, is he wont to say that? does he really mean that?

Subjective *mai-* is illustrated in:

ma'in nini nanqa'q'aip'ini that (quoted)-my me heard (partic.)-my, that's what I heard

mai'm imi nanqa'q'aina that-thy thee hearing, that's what you hear

Examples of objective *maia-* are:

ma'ian 'aik-ʔA that I say

ma'i(y) iŋir 'aik-ʔA that indeed thou sayest (*mai* < *maia'* as above)

Parallel to *maia-* is *m^wa'ia-*, e. g.:

m^wa'iacampa^aη aik^zA that (obj.)-only-he say, that's all he says
**m^wa'iacampān niruγw ampā'x^A* that -(obj.)-only-me I-to talk, that
 only talk to me! stop talking to me!

As we have already seen, *aia-* is also used as inanimate visible objective article-pronoun: *'a'ia* (§ 42, 7). Its parallel invisible *'ɔa'ia* (probably < *u-a-ya-*) is not used as independent demonstrative, though it must be such in origin. For adverbial-connective use of *ai-*, see § 60, 2, a; for *'ɔa'ia* as modal adverb, see § 60, 3.

(6) VERBS OF SAYING. Parallel to the demonstratives *ai-* and *mai-* are the verbs of saying: *ai-* TO SAY (indefinitely) and *mai-* (*m^wa'ia-*) TO SAY THAT (which has been quoted); e. g. *qate *m^wa'iaγwai'yuc ampA* NOT SAY-THAT-NEGATIVE-SUBORDINATING-ONLY, ALTHOUGH NOT SAYING THAT. Either these verbs result from composition with demonstrative *a-*, *ma-* (*m^wa'-*); or they are merely verbified forms of demonstrative *ai-* and *mai-*.

Note on § § 39-43.

The three classes of pronouns already discussed observe the distinction in the third person between visible (or present) and invisible (or absent) forms. Nevertheless sentences occur, as may have been noticed, in which the same person or object is designated now as visible, now as invisible. To a large extent this seems to be due to a desire to prevent the same phonetic group ("word") from containing both a visible and an invisible element (see, for combinations of two enclitics, § 41, 1, e), but not entirely. Apparently the difference between the two sets of forms tends to become a formal rather than a strictly functional matter. Examples of such contradictory sentences are:

imi'ntcu'a ηA pini'f ai'iywA fiγi'v^wia'm u'ηwA thou-interrogative-him (vis.) see-him (inv.) friend-obj.-thy he (inv.; = him), did you see your friend (inv.)?

tɔγ^wɔ'imv^ztaq an'wacqunwA qu'qwi't-ua ηA right-forehead-on-obj.-his (inv.) shoot-impersonal-him (vis.), (if) anybody shoots him right on his forehead

tava'ia m^wa'va-q^A qari'q-uq wA sun (obj.) there-it (vis.) sit-when-it (inv.), when the sun sets there

§ 44. Interrogative pronouns.

Interrogative stems may be divided into two groups, those employed denominatively (interrogative pronouns proper) and those employed

adverbially or serving as base for adverbial forms. They are not accompanied by the interrogative enclitic *-ru'a-* (§ 19, 2, f).

(1) DENOMINATIVE FORMS. Four or five denominative stems are found: *aya-*, *in-i-*, *impī-*, and *an'ia-*; further *aya-*, which is always verbalized or adverbialized by suffixed elements.

(a) *aya-* WHO? This interrogative refers to persons only. Its objective form is *ayaia-*; its subjective plural is *ayam'ī-* (see § 48, 1), objective *ayam'ia-*. It must not be confused with *aya-* HE, THAT ONE (§ 39). It is perhaps to avoid this confusion that interrogative *aya-* is apparently never used with postpositions; e. g. *aya'ruz:wa* denotes TO HIM, not TO WHOM?. The latter idea would have to be expressed periphrastically (see § 50, 3). Examples of *aya-* are:

ay aru''a who is? who is it?

ay aro''avī iya who would-be this-one? I wonder who this is!

'ay an'ik'za who does-so? who is it that does so?

ay aik: ampa'χaxa' who says talking? who is that talking? (referring to one who is heard but not seen)

aya'i aro''a whom (= whose) is? whose is it? (contrast *aya'iac: aro''a* it is his)

ayai uwa'ruz:wa whom he (inv.)-to? to whom?

ayam: aro''a who (plur.) are? who are they?

aya'm'iantca' pa'za'qu whom (plur.)- preterit-thou kill? whom (2) did you kill?

(b) *in-i-* WHO? WHAT? OF WHAT SORT? This is a generalized animate interrogative pronoun, referring to an animal, an animate being not known to be definitely human or animal, or a person of undefined characteristics. Subjective *in-i-* sometimes appears as unelided *in-i* before *aro'a-* TO BE. Its objective singular is *in-ia-*; subjective plural *in-iwū-* (see § 48, 1), objective *in-iwūa-*. Examples are:

in: aro' i'ya what is this (anim.)?

in-i aro''a what is it (anim.)?

in-i'ntcan nūwū'runt who-preterit-me person-make-me? who ever made me a person? who ever respected me?

in-iwū aro''a what (plur.) are? what are they (animals)?

in-iwū aro''a what (plur. obj.) are? to what (animals) does it belong?

(c) *impī-* WHAT (inanimate); objective *impīa-*. In all probability *impī-* is connected with *in-i-*; for *-pī-* see nominalizing suffix *-p-ī-*, § 25,

5, b? *impĩ-* may be used with at least certain postpositions (e. g. *-m-a-* WITH); it may also be used as a nominal base for verbal derivatives, e. g. *impĩ'γai-* TO HAVE WHAT? *impuru-* TO MAKE WHAT? Examples of *impĩ-* are:

imp aro''a what is it (vis.)?

imp uru''a what is it (inv.)?

impĩ'aŋA tĩ'qa'ra' what (obj.)-he (vis.) eat-shall? what will he eat

impĩ'ma' tĩγa'n-va-n-i' what-with-thou butcher-will? what will you butcher with?

impĩ'xai' what hast thou?

impu'ruŋiŋA what is he making?

(d) *an-ia-* WHAT? This interrogative is used only as the object of verbs of saying or mental activity, e. g.:

'ani'æn 'aik'zA what-I say? what did I say?

im an-ia næn'c'wõtĩ thou what being-wont-to-dream? what have you ever dreamt?

an'a' cyma'i' what-thou think-present? what are you thinking of?

Aside from its use as an interrogative pronoun, *an-ia-* frequently appears as a verb, TO SAY WHAT? As such it is treated analogously to *ai-* TO SAY. Examples are:

im 'ani'awatĩ thou wont-to-say-what? what are you accustomed to say?

an-i'A'qa-ŋA what did he (vis.) say? (for *-q-a-* see § 32, 2)

'an-i'axai' a'ik'zA say-what-subordinating-thou say-so? for what reason do you say so?

an'aŋuntca' nĩru'xWA say-what-momentaneous-preterit-thou I-to? what did you say to me?

With enclitic *-n-ia-* LIKE (§ 19, 2, d) this verb means TO CARE FOR WHAT? e. g. *nĩ' an-i'A'qanu'* WHAT DO I CARE? With enclitic *-c-u-* AGAIN (§ 19, 2, k) and followed by *ai-* TO SAY, pronominal *'an-ia-* denotes TO TEASE, e. g. *'ani'Acuŋwĩn a'ik'amu'* WHAT-AGAIN-YE-ME SAY-PLURAL-USITATIVE? YE ARE WONT TO TEASE ME.

(2) ADVERBIAL FORMS. Three interrogative stems are included under this head: *aya-*, *'an'cγa-*, and *ai-*.

(a) *aya-* HOW? WHAT? This is properly a denominating stem meaning WHAT? but it occurs only with postpositions or as verbified *ayan-i-* TO ACT HOW? parallel to other verbs of doing in *-n-i-* (§ 43, 3). Examples of *aya-* with postpositions are:

aɣa'va' what-at? where?

axa'va'ntuxWA where to?

aɣa'vpa'a in which direction? in what way?

Verbal examples of *aɣa'n-i-* TO ACT HOW? TO DO WHAT? are:

axa'n-wa-ɣani how shall I act with him (vis.)? what shall I do to him?

aɣa'n-i-ɬka-ɣa what did he (vis.) do?

aɣa'n-ɣutsuɣw' a'ik-ɬA what-do-momentaneous-gerund (§ 55, 1, a)-he (inv.) say-so? having done what, he says so? what happened to him that he says so?

Analogously to other forms in *-n-i-*, *aɣan-i-* is often in use as an adverb of manner, HOW? e. g.:

**m-wa'r aro'aw aɣa'n an'i'nteĩ* that (inan. vis.) would-be how doing?

I wonder what that means!

axa'n-inta-ɣa'a pa'qa'ɣoɣa how-preterit-him-thou kill-him? how did you kill him?

Subordinates in *-ɣai-* (§ 55, 1, b) of verbal *aɣan-i-* are equivalent to WHY? e. g.:

axa'n-i-ɣaiam 'an-i'm-i' what-do-subordinating-they (vis.) do-
usitative? acting how, are they wont to do so? why do they do so?

axa'n-i-ɣain-i' a'ik-ɬA what-do-subordinating-me-thou say? why do you say so to me?

(b) *'an-ɔ-q-ɔ-* WHEN? e. g.:

'an-ɔ-q-ɔ-ɣwan-ɣan ɣni'k-ɬA when-preterit-he (inv.)-me do so? when did he do so to me?

'an-ɔ-q-ɔ-ɣwan-i' ɣni'k-ɬA when didst thou do so to me?

(c) *ai-* (TO BE) WHERE? (TO DO) WHAT? This verbal interrogative is perhaps a specialized form of adverbial *ai-* THEN (§ 60, 2, a), itself of demonstrative origin. It is always followed by preterital *-ta-*, even when reference is had to present time. Examples are:

a'itcaɣWA where is he (inv.)?

a'itcaram v'-v-wai' where-preterit-we 2 (inclus.) then? where have we 2 got now?

a'itcaɣwa' i-ɣa''p-utsi uɣWA what-preterit-him (inv.)-thou baby (obj.) he (inv.; = him)? what did you do to the baby?

§ 45. *The relative pronoun.*

The Paiute relative pronoun, *pī-*, can be used only with postpositions; e. g. *pīma-* WITH WHICH, *pu'urai-* WHERETO, WHITHER, *pīw'a-* IN WHICH, WHERE. The equivalent of our own subjective and objective relative clauses is afforded by participles and verbal nouns in *-n'a-* (§ 25, 3). Properly speaking, *pī-* is a noun, as is shown by the fact that it is frequently followed by an inanimate article-pronoun. The verb following the relative is generally in the form of a verbal noun in *-n'a-*, less frequently in the form of a participle in *-p'i-* (§ 25, 5, b), rarely a non-participial absolute; hence the logical subject of a relative clause is always objective (i. e. possessive) in form. A sentence like THIS IS THE STICK THAT I HIT HIM WITH is rendered by THIS IS THE STICK WITH WHICH (IS) MY HITTING (OR HAVING HIT) HIM. Examples of relative clauses are:

itci'a-q-A nī'n pīw'a' qarī'n-anī this (inan. obj.)-it (vis.) me which-in sitting-my, this is where I stay

pīma'(u)phi na'uq wīgūt-u'ava-na which-with-own fight-future-verbal noun, (he made many shirts) with which he was to fight

pu'u'rainī nī'ni ūnī'n-anī which-toward-my me doing-my, to where I am going

marī'c-u pīw'a.īyūam ar kia'q-Aqainā that (inan.) which-at-acting (§ 50, 4, 49)-their (vis.) it (vis.) dance-plural-perfective-verbal noun, that (is) the (place) where they danced

u'ri'a-q-A pīw'a'nīm'anagwan anī'p'īnī that (inan. inv. obj.)-it (vis.) which-at-participle-from-my do-past passive partic.-my, that is where I came from

ya'c-pūya' pu'u'raiv ūnīy u'ra' flew-off which-toward-own do-momentaneous it (inv.)-toward, (they) flew off to where they go to

Note that in the last example the absolute verb form *ūnīy*- is treated as a noun, as shown by the possessive *-v(i)-* preceding it.

§ 46. *Reflexive pronouns.*

The reflexive stem in Paiute is *na-*. This never occurs alone, but is always either compounded with a following stem (see § 22) or followed by a postposition, e. g.:

na'up-aya-ŋa mam-a' self-like-plural imperative-him (vis.) change (distributively), do ye change him into your own appearance

naŋwa'ntux-wa pa'ixa' self-on-to call-subordinating, while calling (them) on to himself

syllables are rare (e. g. *tiv^witsiya-* TO OBEY). Were extended comparative Uto-Aztekan material available, it would no doubt be possible to show that many of these trisyllabic and tetrasyllabic stems are capable of analysis. The two-moraed stem ending in a vowel, of both monosyllabic and disyllabic structure, is clearly the characteristic type of stem for all Uto-Aztekan languages.

Noun and verb stems are kept clearly distinct, the use of the same stem now as noun, now as verb, being exceedingly uncommon. An example is *quq-wa-* WOOD, also TO GATHER WOOD (cf. English BERRY and TO BERRY); note also *ni(y)a-* (two-moraed) TO CALL BY NAME, but *ni(y)a-* (three-moraed) NAME (it is quite possible, however, that *niya-* really consists of *niya-* + possessive *-a-*, § 24, 2, a so that *niya-* would be another example of a stem capable of being used either as noun or verb).

From a strictly formal standpoint, noun and verb are, as we have seen, carefully distinguished, there being very few grammatical elements which are appended to both types of stem (e. g. diminutive *-tsi-*, § 35; plural *-q'a-*, § 31, 1, c and § 48, 2). However, there is a slight tendency for verbs to be nominalized, without nominalizing suffix, by means of nominal postpositions, but forms of this sort are far from common (e. g. *piv^wa wim'k'aip'a-ntux-wa* WHICH-IN STAND-PERFECTIVE-TO, TO WHERE (HE) HAD STOOD); see § 55, 2. The clearest syntactic indication of a feeling for nominal form is the presence of article-pronouns (§ 42).

§ 48. *Plurality of nouns.*

There are two types of noun plurals: the reduplicated form, which is more properly distributive in function, for both animate and inanimate nouns (see § 58, 2 for these forms); and properly plural suffixes, which can, for the most part, be appended only to noun stems referring to animate beings (cf. the presence of singular and plural animate forms and the lack of distinctively plural inanimate forms in the third personal pronouns).

(1) ANIMATE PLURAL SUFFIXES. Two animate plural suffixes exist, *-ŋwĩ-* and *-m'ĩ-*, with exactly parallel functions and differentiated merely according to the preceding stem. These elements apply to duals also. *-ŋwĩ-* is evidently spirantized from an older *-mĩ-* (§ 16, 1); *-m'ĩ-* is the corresponding geminated (and nasalized) form. Their Uto-Aztekan prototype **-me* actually occurs as an animate plural in Nahuatl (*-mē*). In actual practice it seems hardly

feasible to assign *-ŋwĩ-* to spirantizing stems alone, *-mĩ-* definitely to all geminating (and nasalizing) stems, as their range of usage seems to intercross with that of types of stem; thus, nominal *-tsi-ⁿ* (§ 24, 1, f) forms plural *-tsiŋwĩ-*, while participial *-fi-ⁿ* (§ 25, 6) forms *-fiŋmĩ-*. No simple rules can therefore be given for the use of *-ŋwĩ-* or *-mĩ-*.

(a) *-mĩ-* (subjective); *-mĩa-* (objective). Examples are:

naŋa'mĩ mountain sheep (sing. *na'x'A*)
qa²qa'ramĩ quails (sing. *qa²qa'rĩ*)
tciŋa'mĩ ducks (sing. *tci'x'A*)
a(i)ya'mĩ turtles (sing. *a'ia*)
wĩ'tca'mĩ roadrunners (sing. *wĩ'tcA*)
a'ivam'iraŋwa our (inclus.) young men (sing. *a'ifApĩts'* young man)
yu't-a'mĩ Utes (sing. *yu't-a-ts-*; plur. also *yu't-a-tsŋwĩ*)

In the last two examples a nominalizing suffix of the singular (*-p'ĩtsi-*, *-tsi-*) has been dropped before the plural suffix. This is not common; but cf., further, *sari't'ĩ'qamĩ* ARAPAHO INDIANS (lit. DOG-EAT-PLURAL, noun-verb compound noun; sing. *sari't'ĩ'qats-*).

Animate plural *-mĩ-* is also appended to cardinal *-yu-* of numerals for two and above, when used attributively with enclitic *-n'ua-*, before animate nouns, e. g.:

waa'(i)yumun'ı wĩ'ts'itsiŋwĩaŋA two-cardinal-animate plur.-like
 great-grandchildren-plural-her (vis.), her two great-grandchildren.

(b) *-ŋwĩ-* (subjective); *-ŋwĩa-*, *ŋwa(·)-* (objective). The objective in *-ŋwa(·)-* is very common; it is merely a phonetic variant of *-ŋwĩa-* (see § 4, 1, a). Examples of subjective *-ŋwĩ-* are:

nava'vŋwĩ reciprocal-elder brother-plural, two brothers (sing. *pavi'ni* my elder brother)
paa'ŋwĩ aunts; *paa'ŋwĩni* my aunts (sing. *paa'ni* my aunt)
qava'ŋwĩ horses (sing. *qava'*)
qam'ĩŋwĩ jack-rabbits (sing. *qa'mĩ*)
fiŋ'aywĩ deer (sing. *fiŋ'i'A*)
aiä'taŋwĩ Coconino Indians (sing. *aiä'tA*)
mə'munŋwĩ Mormons (sing. *mə'muni*)

Examples of objective forms are:

nĩ' puŋqu'ŋwĩani qoŋo''ı I horses-obj.-my kill (plur. obj.), I kill my horses

nī' MU'quw' xayw'aivū-nī nī'ni tu(w)a'tsuywa' I call-for-help-go-will-
I me children-obj., I will go to call my children for help
paci'ŋwa-v ymu'rux-wa daughter-obj.-own they (inv.)-to, to his
own daughters

The use of animate plurals for singulars conceived of as singled out from a group has been already discussed in connection with participles in *-ti-m-i-* (§ 25, 6, f). This same usage applies to many animate plurals in *-ŋwī-* as well, e. g.:

pina'p'ütsuyw aŋa smallest-plur. he (vis.), the smallest (boy) of all
nī' vī'mpimpin'ara'pütsuywī I very-least-plur., I (am the) very
least in size (of my family)

qam'i' vī'ntuac'wōip'uywī jack-rabbit (obj.) (hair)-having-come-off-
moving-plur. (obj.), jack-rabbit (obj.) with hair having come off
from dragging along (referring to one particular animal out of
several)

(2) PLURAL *-q-a-*. This suffix has been already discussed as a verb element defining plurality of the subject (§ 31, 1, c). It occurs, though not frequently, also in the inanimate noun before objective *-ya-* (§ 49, 1), postpositive *-ma-* WITH (§ 50, 4, 9), and possibly other post-positions to emphasize the plurality (as contrasted with duality) of an attached enclitic possessive pronoun. It does not, therefore, primarily indicate plurality of the noun itself, though this may be implied. Examples are:

fiw'ē'p'iaq'a(i)yaŋumī country-possessive-plural-objective-your
(plur.), your (plur.) country (obj.) that (you) own
fiya'n'impūq'ama-mī seed-beater-plural-with-their (vis.), with their
(plur.) seed-beater(s)

§ 49. Syntactical cases.

Paiute recognizes two fundamental syntactical cases, the subjective and objective. The former of these is in use as the subject of a non-subordinate verb; the object of an imperative (see § 52); and as a base for the affixing of postpositions (see § 50). * The objective is the case of the object of a transitive verb; the subject of a subordinate verb (see § 55, 1); the genitive (possessive); and the apposition to a noun with postposition (see § 50, 3).

(1) FORMATION OF SYNTACTICAL CASES. The subjective case is simply the absolutive, the unmodified noun with no specific case

suffix. The objective is formed by suffixing *-a-* to the final vowel of the noun, if this vowel is *i*, *ɨ*, *ə*, or *u* (*o*); *-ya-* (*-ia-*) if the final vowel is *a*. Examples are:

SUBJECTIVE	OBJECTIVE
<i>sari'ts</i> dog (< <i>-tsu-</i>)	<i>sari'tsi</i> (< <i>-tsua-</i>)
<i>anqa'q'wicari</i> lightning	<i>anqa'q'wicariA</i>
<i>U²qwi'yv</i> arrow (< <i>U²qwi'yv-</i>)	<i>U²qwi'yvu</i> (< <i>U²qwi'yv-a-</i>)
<i>qani'ni</i> my house	<i>qani'ani</i>
<i>qani'anA</i> his (vis.) house	<i>qani'a'ηA</i>
<i>quna'v'iml</i> thy sack	<i>quna'via'ami</i>
<i>pa'</i> water	<i>paa'ia</i>
<i>paa'raml</i> our (2 inclus.) aunt	<i>paa'iaraml</i>
<i>nampa'ηA</i> his (vis.) leg (stem <i>nampa-</i>)	<i>nampa'ia'ηA</i>

Another objective suffix, *-q'u-*, *-ηqu-*, is used after numeral stems (see § 59, 2, a) and after certain postpositions (e. g. *-ma-*, *-ηwa-* ON; *-ηwa'ai-* TOGETHER WITH; *-mpa'-at*; *-uḫ'a-* THROUGH; see § 50, 4); cf. also adverbial *ti-ηqu-* (§ 30, 2, b).

(2) USE OF SYNTACTICAL CASES. The subjective as a subject and the objective as a transitive object are so plentifully illustrated in the course of this paper that no further examples need be given here. The other uses of the subjective will be illustrated below (§ 52; § 50), also the use of the object as the subject of a subordinate verb (§ 55, 1).

The genitive function of the objective is seen, e. g., in:

fiw'p'i *qinwa'va'anfi* land (obj.) edge-at-participle (obj.), being
(obj.) at (the) edge of (the) land
qwa'ri *tu(w)a'tsiηwi* rain (obj.) children, Rain's children

Often with pleonastic use of a pronominal enclitic, e. g.:

cina'qwan *untu'q'ηwA* coyote (obj.) back-flesh-his (inv.), Coyote's
back flesh
qani'ayw *u'u'ra'* *paa'(i)yaḫi* (he went) house-obj.-her it-toward
aunt-obj.-own, (he went) toward his aunt's house

While the subjective form is used as a base for the suffixing of a postposition, the form is felt as the equivalent of an objective, as appositions to such nouns or pronouns are regularly put in the objective, e. g. *wantsi' an ηa''ura'* ANTELOPE (OBJ.) HE (VIS.; = HIM) HE-

TOWARD, TOWARD THE ANTELOPE. Such periphrastic forms are extremely common (see § 50, 3).

The sporadic subjective use of objective forms of independent personal pronouns in certain not clearly understood cases has been already mentioned (§ 39, 4, end).

§ 50. *Postpositions.*

Paiute possesses a large number of postpositions or, as one might prefer to call them, non-syntactical case suffixes. They are chiefly, but not entirely, of local reference. They are true suffixes (or compounded stems that have practically become suffixes), as shown by the fact that they precede all enclitics and that, under appropriate consonantal conditions, they are subject to the phonetic processes of spirantization, gemination, and nasalization (e. g. *-rurwa-*, *-tcurwa-*, *-ntcurwa-*, *-t-urwa-*, *-nturwa-* TO). The position of the postposition thus corresponds to that of the objective (§ 49). Postpositions are suffixed to nouns, pronouns (except, of course, enclitic pronouns and postnominal pronouns), and demonstrative stems (treated as the equivalent of inanimate third personal pronouns).

(1) TYPES OF POSTPOSITIONS. Etymologically, three types may be recognized. A considerable number consist of simple elements that cannot be brought into connection with other Paiute elements, e. g. *-va-*, *-va-* AT; *-up'a-* THROUGH, IN — DIRECTION; *-ma-* WITH. Some of these seem to go back to Uto-Aztekan prototypes; with *-va-* cf., e. g., Nahuatl *-pa*. A number of simple postpositions seem to occur only or chiefly as compounded with others, e. g. *-yi-*, *-ywi-*, *-'aya-*.

A second type of postposition is that compounded of two (or more) postpositional elements. These may either be independently occurring elements (e. g. *-vaywit-urwa-* INTO < *-vaywi-* IN plus *-turwa-* TO) or an independently occurring postposition preceded or followed by one not so occurring (e. g. *-ywi-t-urwa-* INTO; *-'aya-va-tcurwa-* RIGHT INTO; *-ruq-wa-yi-* MOVING UNDER). Several postpositions that now appear primitive are quite probably really compounded of simpler elements, e. g. *-vaywi-* IN < *-va-* AT + *-ywi-*.

A third type consists of originally independent stems, chiefly adverbial and nominal, that are compounded in a postpositional sense with preceding stems (cf. English AROUND, ASIDE FROM, APART FROM, ALONG). Such compounds are often followed by a primitive postposition, e. g. *nā-yā'nūya-va-* I-SIDE-AT, AT MY SIDE < *qa'nū'ya-* SIDE. That *-ya'nūya-va-* is a true compound postposition is shown

by its employment with a pronominal stem like *nī-*^a; a noun compound *nī-γa'nyā-* is impossible. This type of postposition raises the question whether all postpositions as a class are not in origin stereotyped compounded nouns (e. g. HOUSE- UNDER < HOUSE-UNDERNESS; UNDER MY HOUSE = MY HOUSE-UNDERNESS).

(2) VERBAL USE OF POSTPOSITIONS. All postpositions indicating movement, also some indicating presence, may be and frequently are verbified without further change in form. Formal verbal suffixes (e. g. momentaneous *-γu-* and tense elements) are directly suffixed to the postposition. Examples of such verbified uses are:

av'mituywa'^a it-back-from-thou! go out (of it)!
w'u'x'upā'p'īγa' it (inv.)-through (*-up'a-*)-past; (he) went off
 through it (inv.), in yonder direction
uywa''vantuywayup'īγa' he (inv.)-on-to-momentaneous-past, (he)
 got on top of him
axa'va'ntuxwa'^a what-at-to-thou? where are you going to?
naywa'a'imuk-up'īγa'a'imī self-with-movement-inceptive-past-dual,
 (they) 2 started to go along together
qa'tcu maa'naywa'aik-wA not that (vis.)-at-negative-it (inv.), was
 not there

All postpositions may be participialized by means of *-ñi-*ⁿ (§ 25, 6, a); e. g. *-va'nñi-*, obj. *-va'nñia-*, BEING AT (*-va-*ⁿ AT). Such participialized postpositions are often employed where simple local phrases or adverbs would appear in English, e. g. HE GATHERED STICKS THAT-AT-BEING-OBJ. (*uv''a'nñia*) instead of simply THAT-AT, THERE (*uv''a''*). Sometimes the participial form takes on a specialized significance; e. g. *u'mA* IT-ON, THEREON, THEREAT, but *um''a'nñi* (obj. *um''a'nñia*) BEING THEREAT, i. e. SOME OF IT. Participialized postpositions may be followed by other postpositions, e. g. *-va'nñi-m-a-naγqwa-* AT-BEING-ON-FROM, AWAY FROM.

(3) PERIPHRASTIC CONSTRUCTIONS WITH POSTPOSITIONS. While postpositions may be used with noun stems (e. g. *qani'ntcuq-wA* HOUSE-UNDER), there is a tendency for postpositions to attach themselves by preference to pronouns and demonstrative stems. Hence the type noun + postposition is often replaced by its periphrastic equivalent: noun (obj.), pronoun (or demonstrative stem) + postposition; the noun may follow. An independent objective pronoun may also be thus periphrastically used with a pronominal or demonstrative stem.

paa'iarām uḡwa'vatci aunt-obj.-our 2 (inclus.) she-at-being, to our
(2) aunt

aru'q-wA qan'uA it-under house (obj.), under the house

tia'vi ūm'a'ntiA service-berry-bush (obj.) it (inv.) -at-being-obj.,

(he took) from the bush, (he took) some of the bush

pa.i u'a'xaφA water (obj.) it-into, right into the water

ʔi'tci a'uḡa'U this (inan. obj.) it-in way-again, again in this way

ni'ni'centcax-ga'ηA niḡwa'ntuḡw ʔi'ʔi'ḡqanU me-preterit-it (vis.)-he

(vis.) I-from steal-momentaneous, he stole it from me

maḡa'iac aḡa'ruX-wA him (vis.) he-to, to him

(4) LIST OF POSTPOSITIONS. The following list of postpositions includes all elements that have been found on analysis. The entries are made for simple postpositions, compounded forms coming under the first element; cross references make clear the relationship of the various elements.

1. -a-^o PRESENT AT; occurs only as participialized -at-*i*- BEING PRESENT AT and compounded: -an-u- (cf. 25) PRESENT AT; -an-u-yu- (cf. 25, 49) MOVEMENT FROM; -at-*uḡwa*- (cf. 30) ALONG TOWARD. These elements occur only after demonstrative stems, e. g.:

i(y)ε'nuan 'ani'n'ni this-at-I do-continuative-present, here I am
u(w)a'n'oyuntca pa(i)yü'ηU that (inv.)-at-from-preterit return, (he)

has been at and returned from there

ua't arī that (inv.)-at-being it (vis.), the (thing) yonder, what is over there

i(y)ä't-uḡwam'mua(i)yīaḡA this-at-to-moving-present-he (vis.), he walks along over here

2. -'aḡa-^s RIGHT IN, AMONG; occurs only compounded: -'aḡaruḡwa- (cf. 30) MOVING THROUGH, IN AMONG; -'aḡava- (cf. 37) RIGHT IN; -'aḡavayū- (cf. 37, 49) ACTING RIGHT IN; -'aḡavatcuḡwa- (cf. 37, 30) RIGHT INTO; -'aḡawatcum-anagḡwa- (cf. 37, 30, 7, 18) OUT FROM AMONG. Examples are:

qan u'a'xaruX-wA house (obj.) it-through, right through the house
pa.i u'a'xaφA water (obj.) it-in, right in the water

u'a'xava(i)YU yaḡa'va'nti it-in cry-future-participle, being about to cry while right in it

pa.'aḡavatcuḡwagw'xmü qwä'p'īḡa' water-into-them (inv.)-they (inv.) took (sing.-dual object), they 2 took them 2 right into (the) water

'a'xavatcumananqwa ts'ə'ivī (< a'a'xa-) it-in-from bulrushes (obj.), out from among the bulrushes

3. -γa'niχa- ALONG, BESIDE (cf. independent stem qa'niχa- SIDE, PROXIMITY); occurs only compounded: -γa'niχa-γi- (cf. 5) MOVING BESIDE; -γa'niχa-va- (cf. 38) AT SIDE OF; -γa'niχa-va-yu- (cf. 38, 49) ACTING AT SIDE OF. Examples are:

qani'an uxwa'n'niχa-xi paγ(a)'i' house-obj.-I it-beside-moving walk,

I walk along the house

nīχa''niχa-va' at my side (at rest like a tree)

nīχa''niχa-va.iYU at my side (something going on)

4. -γa-va'-; occurs only as participialized -γa-va't-i- BEING—ER THAN, e. g.:

nīχa'-ava'tim pa'a'(i)yiāηa I-greater-plur. tall-present-he (vis.), he is taller than I

niηwī'xa-ava'tim-w aηa person-greater-plur. he (vis.), the one greater than anybody else, the greatest one

5. -γi-^o MOVING THROUGH; common in compounded forms, but rare as simple postposition, e. g.:

tī'ra(i)yua-xi desert-plain-through, through the open plain.

For compounded forms, see 3, 7, 17, 21, 26, 31, 45; also 15, 48. -γi- regularly lengthens preceding short vowels.

6. -γim-a- OTHER THAN (cf. independent stem qim-a- OTHER, STRANGER; § 39, 2); occurs only compounded: -γim-aηwanti- (cf. 8) BEING OTHER THAN, NOT RELATED TO; -γim-aηwit-uγwa- (cf. 14) MOVING AWAY FROM. Examples are:

imi'xīmaηwenti thou-other-at-being, not related to you

qan-i'γīmaηwitux-wa away from (the) house

uγu'm-aηwit-ux-wa away from it (inv.)

7. -ma-^a RESTING ON, AT, FOR (of time); obj. -maηqu- (see § 49, 1; apparently only with enclitic possessive pronoun, while -ma- seems to occur only without such pronoun); -maηqwa- (cf. 18) FROM ON, BECAUSE OF; -maηqwap-a- ON OTHER SIDE OF (cf. 18, 37); -ma-ia- NEAR (cf. enclitic -n-ia-; § 19, 2, d); -manfi- BEING ON, AT, SOME OF, BELONGING TO; -mantim-aηqwa- FROM ON, FROM ONE OF (here -ma- occurs twice); -mantīqwa'ai- WITH SOME OF (cf. 11); -mantuγwa- (cf.

30) UP TO, AGAINST, DURING; *-mayu-* (cf. 49) FROM ON, AT; perhaps also *-ma-yi-* (cf. 5) AROUND, CIRCLING. Examples are:

qanu'mA on, at a house (e. g. vine)

wa't:aməmA two-year-on, for two years

tca'a'ik'aiyoaŋ aŋa'vimaŋgoaŋA hold-resultative-when-him arm-at-obj.-his (vis.), when holding him by his arm

cā'ra-m'anaŋqwa qana'ri wə'a i'mi'i Cedar City-from Kanab (obj.) there arrive (plur.), (they) arrive at Kanab from Cedar City

ya'a'ik-wə'aivä' yaya'n'av um'a'naŋqwa die-off-shall crying-own it-from, let him die from his crying

qan'i'm'anaŋqwa:pA house-from at, on other side of (his) camp

qanu'an um'a'nu' paŋ(a)'i house-obj.-I it-at-like walk, I walk near the house

na'a'inti ūmanŋi burning (obj.) it-at-being, from fire, something burning (subj.)

cv'q-uc wə'u'amanŋiafi qaχa'pīya' one (obj.) song-at-being-obj.-own sang (momentaneously), sang one of his own songs

cu(w)a'roχwə'it-uywan-um'antux:WA nearly-right-night-at-to, up to nearly midnight

fin-a'ma(i)yuaqA from its base

mu(y)ə'm-a-x:i very far around

For compounded forms, see 10, 25; also 2, 15, 17, 18, 25, 30, 38, 43, 45.

8. *-ŋwa-*ⁿ RESTING ON, AT (spirantized form of 7; *-ŋwa-* and its compounds are used instead of *-ma-* after personal, relative, and reflexive pronouns; also after animate nouns in *-ts-*, § 24, 1, f); obj. *-ŋwanqu-* (apparently used when followed by enclitic possessive pronoun); *-ŋwananqwa-* (cf. 18) FROM, BY; participialized *-ŋwanti-* BEING AT, ONE OF; *-ŋwantiŋwa'ai-* (cf. 11) WITH SOME OF; *-ŋwantuŋwa-* (cf. 30) ON TO, FROM. Examples are:

ni'ŋWA (hanging) on me

toŋo'imU²taq aŋ'wanquni right on my forehead

pa'qa'ŋvfi:ta:ŋA qwiya'tsiŋwananqwa kill-passive-preterit-he (vis.) bear-by, he was killed by (the) bear (such agentive constructions with passives, however, are not common)

ŋm^wu'ŋwant ai:p-ŋya' they (inv.)-from- being said, one of them said

fi-'nti²qap-ŋya wə'a'ŋwanti well-ate she-from-being-obj., (he) enjoyed himself well from her

aivam um-u'ḡwantḡḡwa^a youths they (inv.)-from-being-with, with some of the young men

naḡwa'ntux:WA pa'iḡa' self-on-to calling, calling on to himself

For compounded forms, see 6, 11, 12; also 7.

9. *-ma-* WITH (as instrumental), e. g.:

impḡ'ma' ḡḡa'n-va-n-i' what-with-thou butcher-will? with what will you butcher?

tümp^wl'mA nara'ḡḡap-ḡḡa' rock-with reciprocal-throw-plural-past, (they) bethrew each other with rocks, (they) threw rocks at each other

poro'ḡ-wama^amauḡi cane-plural-with-their (inv.)-own, (they hit it) with their canes

10. *-ma'ai-* TOGETHER WITH (used with inanimate forms); obj. *-ma'q-u-*. This is related either to instrumental *-ma-* (9) or, more probably, to local *-ma-* (7), as indicated by its parallelism to *-ḡwa'ai-* (11). Objective *-ma'q-u-* is used when coupled with an objective noun. Examples are:

'am-a''aic-U nan-a'p-ḡḡa' it-with-again grew, (he) grew simultaneously with it

atei'm'aq-uḡ-waḡi bow-with-obj.-it (inv.)-own, (while holding) it together with his bow

11. *-ḡwa'ai-* TOGETHER WITH (spirantized form of 10; used with animate forms), obj. *-ḡwa'q-u-*. It is doubtless related to *-ḡwa-* (8). Examples are:

sari'vunḡuḡw'aiḡi with your dog

nḡ'qanḡ'ḡa imiḡwa^a I house-have thou-with, I live with you

imi'ḡw'aiḡpa' shall go with you

to'ḡ-wap-ḡḡa' piḡwa'ḡw'aq-uḡi bet-past wife-with-obj.-own, (he) bet (it) together with his wife (i.e. staked his wife too)

For compounded forms, see 7, 8.

12. *-minawwa-* WITH (instrumental); probably compounded with *-ḡwa-* (8). It is found only suffixed to objective *naḡwa'q-u-* BOTH (§ 59, 3, c), e. g.:

naḡwa''q-um:naḡWA pu'i'm-ani both-obj.-with eye-with-my, with both my eyes

It is not certain that this interpretation of *-minawwa-* is correct.

13. *-mi-*; found only compounded: *-mit-uywa-* (cf. 30) IN — DIRECTION, e. g.:

pimi'tux-wA tɔɔ'q-wI backward run!

qwi'mitux-wA to the left

For compounded forms, see 48.

14. *-ɣwi-*^o IN, ON (of time; infrequent); chiefly compounded: *-ɣwi-tuywa-* (cf. 30) IN DIRECTION OF (spirantized form of 13; used after non-geminating stems, including all pronouns); participialized *-ɣwi-tuywanli-*. Examples are:

'i'tcā tava'ɣwi this (obj.) day-on, on this day

nanu'n'naɣwitux-wA in different directions

qima'ɣwitux-wA in another direction

iɣwi'tux-wA in this direction

'i'ɣwiturɣwənt uru'awī this-toward-participle be-irrealis, I wonder if (he) is coming this way

For compounded forms, see 20; also 6.

15. *-mi(y)u-* AT A DISTANCE FROM (cf. independent stem *mi(y)ɔ-* AT A DISTANCE, FAR); diminutive *-mi'ɔitsiwa-* (cf. 37) AT A LITTLE DISTANCE FROM; *-mi(y)uma-ɣi-*^o (cf. 7, 5), participialized *-mi(y)uma-ɣit-i-* BEING FURTHER AWAY. Examples are:

nīm-wi'(y)U at a distance from me

ɣmi'ɔitsiɤA at a little distance from it (inv.)

ɣmɤ'yuma:x-it'i being (obj.) a little further away from it (inv.)

16. *-ɣqwa-*^o DIRECTION, used only after *qwaia-n* BEYOND, OPPOSITE; occurs only compounded: *-ɣqwap-a-* (cf. 37) BEYOND; participialized *-ɣqwap-atci-* BEING BEYOND; *-ɣqwap-atcuywa-* (cf. 37, 30) TO BEYOND. Examples are:

qwaia'ɣqwap-a-q-A opposite-direction-at-its (vis.), beyond it

qwaia'ɣqwap-atci being beyond, on the other side

qwaia'ɣqwap-atcux-wA to the other side

Generally *-ɣqwa-* occurs as compounded *-naɣqwa-* (18). For compounded forms, see 33.

17. *-n-a-ɣi-*^o IN, INTO (perhaps compounded of older *-na-*, cf. 18, 21, 47, and *-ɣi-*^o, 5); participialized *-n-a-ɣit-i-* BEING IN; *-n-a-ɣit-uywa-* (cf. 30) MOVING INTO; *-n-a-ɣit-umananqwa-* (cf. 30, 7, 18) FROM INSIDE OF; *-n-a-ɣiyu-* ACTING IN (cf. 49). Examples are:

imi'n-a-xi in thee
taṇa'na-x'ik-waḫi mara'ḡikava' knee-in-it (inv.)-own put-plur.-will,
 (you) will put it in (your) own knees
ora'va' fiw'i'p'i yna'a-yut-i' dig-shall earth (obj.) it (inv.) -in-participle,
 (you) shall dig the earth being in, (you) shall dig into the earth
yna'a-yut-u-ywap-i'ya' went into it (inv.)
'an-a'-yut-um-aṇṇwa from inside of it
ayā'n-i-xai aik' yn-a'-a-yi-yu how-act-subordinate-thou say it (inv.)-
 in-acting? what are you doing in there (that accounts for your
 noise)?

For compounded forms, see 48.

18. *-naṇṇwa-* (probably compounded of non-independent *-na-*, cf. 17, and *-ḡwa-*, cf. 16) DIRECTION, occurring in adverbs; participialized *-naṇṇwat-i-* (*-naṇṇwanti-*); *-naṇṇwat-i-man-aṇṇwa-* (cf. 7, 18) FROM — DIRECTION (note that *-naṇṇwa-* occurs twice); *-naṇṇwap-a-* (cf. 37) IN — DIRECTION, NEAR; participial *-naṇṇwap-atci-* BEING IN — DIRECTION. Examples are:

tina'ḡḡwa(i)yāṇa he (vis.) is coming up
pana'ḡḡwa-tim-an-aṇṇwa down-being-from, from north (*pana'ḡḡwa*
 down < water-ward)
imi'n-aṇṇwap-a thou-direction-at, in your direction, near you
ina'ḡḡwa-patci-a this-direction-at-being (obj.), (he shot) on the other
 end

For compounded forms, see 7, 8, 31, 40, 48; also 2, 17, 18, 38, 43, 45.

19. *-naṇṇwi-n-a'mi-* IN SIGHT OF (cf. *-u(w)a'-mi* IN FRONT OF, 32),
 e. g.:

yn-a'ḡwi-n-am'mi seen from it (inv.)

20. *-naḫ-aṇwi-* MOVING DOWN (perhaps contains *-ḡwi-*, 14), e. g.:

qā'ivanaḫ-aṇwi moving down (the) mountain

21. *-nari(i)ya-* BETWEEN, distributive *-nanari(i)ya-* (cf. independent noun *nari(i)ya-* BETWEENNESS with reciprocal prefix *na-*; e. g. *nari'(i)yava-nimi* AT OUR (EXCL.) BETWEENNESS, BETWEEN US) occurs only compounded: *-nari(i)yava-*, *-nari(i)yapa-* (cf. 38) BETWEEN; *-nari(i)yay-i-* (cf. 5) THROUGH BETWEEN, STUCK BETWEEN; *-nari(i)yana-* (cf. 17, 18, 47) ON BETWEEN; *-nari(i)yava-ntu-ywa-* (cf. 38, 30) TO BETWEEN. Examples are:

qanu'n-ariiaa' between (2) houses
qanu'n-anariiaa' among (several) houses (outside)
pu'i'n-ariyap-a-ŋA between his (vis.) eyes
taŋwa'n-ariyaŋiŋA between his (vis.) (2) teeth (stuck like tooth-pick)
taŋwa'n-ariyana-ŋA between his (vis.) teeth (on outside)
tana'c-ixa(i)ya-ŋA nari'yava-ntux-WA foot-cleft-obj.-his (vis.) between-ness-at-to, to between his hoofs

22. *-nauq-wa-* DISTRIBUTED AMONG, THROUGHOUT (probably old noun stem with reciprocal prefix *na-*²), e. g.:

taŋwa'n-auq-WA we (inclus.)-among; distributed among us, each to each

fiw'i'p'i an-a'uq-WA country (obj.) it-among, throughout the country

23. *-navas-u-* FOLLOWING, IMITATING (perhaps analyzable into reflexive *na-* + *va-* AT, cf. 37, + enclitic *-c-u-* ALSO), e. g.

yumu'n-avas an-i'p-iŋa' they (inv.)-following did, (he) did as they did

24. *-ni-³* AWAY FROM; occurs only compounded: *-nit-uywa-* (cf. 30) MOVING AWAY FROM, e. g.:

ini't-uywa'a this-away-to-thou! go away (from here)!

25. *-n-u-*; occurs only with stem *tuywa-* DARK, NIGHT, which it nominalizes; also compounded: *-num-a-* (cf. 7) FOR (of time); *-num-antuywa-* (cf. 7, 30) UP TO e. g.:

tuywa'nu night

cv'i't-uywanu one night; *cv'i't-oywanumac-u* for just one night

cu(w)a'rɔxw'i't-uywan-um-antux-WA nearly-middle-night-at-to, up to nearly midnight

For compounded *-an-u-*, see 1.

26. *-ɔa-* AROUND; seems to occur only compounded: *-ɔayit-uywa-* (cf. 5, 30) (CIRCLING) AROUND; participialized *-ɔayit-uywanfi-*. Examples are:

qanu ɔɔ'axɔt-ux-WA house (obj.) it (inv.; *ɔa-* assimilated from *u-ɔa-*) around-to, (placed) around the house

aŋa'ɔax-itux-WA circling around him

uywa'ɔax-ituywanfi qanqa'nuA he (inv.)-around-being (obj.) houses (distributive)-obj., houses (obj.) that (were) round about him

27. *-q-waia-*ⁿ OPPOSITE (cf. independent *qwaia-*ⁿ OPPOSITE, BEYOND, § 60, 2, b); only compounded: *-q-waianturywa-* (cf. 30) TO OPPOSITE, ACROSS, e. g.:

pa'q-waiäntux-wA water-opposite-to, across (the) water

28. *-firayua-* CENTER, MIDDLE (cf. independent noun stem *firayua-* CENTER); only compounded: *-firayuap-a-*, *-firayuava-* (cf. 38) IN CENTER OF, RIGHT AMONG; participialized *-firayuava-nti-* BEING IN CENTER OF; *-firayuava-nturywa-* (cf. 38, 30) TO CENTER OF. *-t-* appears as *-r-* (*-tc-*, *-ntc-*), *-t-*, *-nt-*. Examples are:

niywi'riraxup-a' people-center-at, right among (the) people
qanu'ntciraxawa-nti house-center-at-being, being in the middle of (the) house

toyo'tiraxawa-ntuxwa-q-A right-center-at-to-its (vis.), right into the middle of it

29. *-ric'u'ai-na'ai-* NOT HEEDING, PAYING NO ATTENTION TO; always verbal in form, *-na'ai-* being negative verb suffix (see § 57, 2, d), e. g.:

ana'röcu'ain-a'a paying no attention to him

For another explanation of these forms, see § 18 2, c.

30. *-turywa-*ⁿ TO, TOWARD, often verbalized TO GIVE TO; participialized *-turywanti-*; *-turywantim-ayu-* (cf. 7, 49) FROM —WARDS. *-t-* appears as *-r-* (*-tc-*, *-ntc-*), *-t-*, *-nt-*. This common postposition is probably compounded of non-independent *-tu-* and *-ywa-* (or *-ya-*; cf. perhaps *-ya-* of *-'aya-*, 2), as is shown by dropping of *-ywa-* before *-mananqwa-* (7, 37; also 2, 17, 43) and one or two other elements, e. g. *-n-a-yu-tu-m-ananqwa-* (17), *-vatcum-ananqwa-* (2, 37). Examples are:

ywa'rurywap-iyä'aik-wA gave it (inv.) to him (inv.)

aruyw a'ip-iyä' it-to said

pa-xöywa-'arux-wAp-iyä' water-edge-to-past, went along (the) river shore

qatcu'aganu ni' imi'ntcuxwawa-ñ'wain-ua-ñA not-him (vis.)-I I thou-to-will-negative-indicative-him (vis.), I shall not give him to you

qwa'ut-uywac-u off-to-also, facing the other way

turyu'ntux-wA upward

fiv-a'i'turywanti west-to-being, (the) west

tuxu'ntuxwantim-q(i)YU from upward

For compounded forms, see 1, 2, 7, 8, 13, 14, 17, 24, 26, 27, 31, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 43, 44, 45, 47; also 6, 16, 25, 48.

Verbalized *-tuɣwa-* TO GO TO may even be compounded with another verb stem, e. g. *ʔinaʔtuɣwanʔni-* TO BE OUT ON A HUNTING TRIP (cf. *ʔina-* TO HUNT).

31. *-tuɣwa-*^o UNDER; participialized *-tuɣwat-i-* BEING UNDER; *-tuɣwa-ɣi-* (cf. 5) MOVING UNDER; participialized *-tuɣwa-ɣit-i-* MOVING UNDER; *-tuɣwa-ɣiyu-* (cf. 5, 49) ACTING WHILE MOVING UNDER; *-tuɣwaip-a-* UNDER SIDE OF (perhaps misheard for *-ɣip-a-*, cf. 5, 38); *-tuɣwananɣwa-* (cf. 18) CLIMBING (TREE); *-tuɣwat-uɣwa-* (cf. 30) TOWARDS UNDER; *-tuɣwayu-* (cf. 49) ACTING UNDER. *-t-* appears as *-r-* (*-tc-*, *-ntc-*), *-t-*, *-nt-*. Examples are:

naruʔqwa under (him)self

ʔaʔciʔanti uruʔqwa dawn-being (obj.) it (inv.)-under, under the dawn, just before daybreak

tavaʔtcuqwa sun-under, during the day

qaniʔntcuqwa under (the) house

tümpʔiʔtuqwa under a stone

aruʔqwaʔiaqwa it-under-being-its (vis.), its bottom

paʔruʔqwaʔi moving under (the) water

qaniʔntcuqwaʔxat-i moving under (the) house

aruʔqwaʔxeɣu yaɣaʔnurupʔiyaʔ it-under-moving-acting cry-go about-past, went about under it while crying

avaʔʔruɣwaip-aʔqwa under side of its (inv.) shade

aruʔqwananɣwapiyaʔ climbed up it

qaʔway uruʔqwatuxwa mountain (obj.) it (inv.)-under-to, towards under the mountain, to the base of the mountain

anʔantcaʔ aiy uruʔqwa(i)ɣu what-preterit-thou say-momentaneous it (inv.)-under acting? what did you say under there?

For compounded forms, see 45.

32. *-(u)ʔaʔmi-* IN FRONT OF (evidently compounded; for *-ʔmi-*, cf. 19); *-(u)ʔit-uɣwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING IN FRONT OF, BEFORE (of time). Examples are:

mamʔiʔu(w)ʔmi in front of them (vis.)

niɣwvʔu(w)ʔmi (< *näɣwʔ-uaʔmi-*) in front of (the) person

tamiʔu(w)ʔit-uxwa moving in front of us 2 (inclus.)

nüuʔ(w)ʔtuxwatcaʔya piʔci I-before-preterit-he (vis.) arrive, he arrived before me

33. *-un-a-*ⁿ; only compounded: *-un-anqwap-a-* (cf. 16, 37) OUTSIDE OF, BACK BEHIND; *-un-anturwa-* (cf. 30) OPPOSITE TO. Examples are:

qan-i'on-anqwap-A outside of (the) house

nūn'n-anqwap-A back behind me (at rest)

nū'u'nantux:WA opposite to me

34. *-o-n-a-p-ī-* BEHIND (probably related to 33; cf. also *-vi-na-p-ī-*, 48), e. g.:

qanū'o-na-a-p-ī behind (the) house

35. *-up-a(·)-ⁿ*, ^o THROUGH, BY, IN — DIRECTION; IN — MANNER (employed both locally and, no doubt secondarily, modally); obj. *-up-a(·)q-u-*; with enclitic *-n-ia-* (§ 19, 2, d) *-up-an-ia-* (TO ACT) LIKE; with enclitic *-c-u-* (§ 19, 2, k) *-up-a(·)c-u-* IN THE SAME WAY, DIRECTION AS; participialized *-up-at-ī-* BEING THROUGH, AMONG, AROUND; *-up-anturwa-* (cf. 30) TOGETHER WITH; *-up-a(·)t-urwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING THROUGH, ALONG, BY MEANS OF. Examples are:

nūo'p-anu I-by-momentaneous, pass by me

tūmp'a'u'pā'amū through their (inv.) mouths

'i'upa-'a-p-ī'ya' went this way, in this direction

a'u'p-anqipī'ya' it-through-come-past, came along through it (referring to trail, tracks)

ma'u'p-a^a in that way, thus

təγo'n-^oop-a' just-I-in manner (= *təγoin-ī-op-a-*), equally to me

kwi'tu'x-pā-q-oaŋA anus-through-obj.-his (vis.), through his anus (he bit him)

nū' imi'(y)upa'anū naya'φA^aqa' I thou-in-manner-like look, I look like you

o'p-ac-u in the same direction, in the same manner

qanqa'nu o'p-at-ī houses (distributively)-obj. it (inv.)- through-being (fires) distributed among the houses

na'p-antux:WA (< *na-up-a-*ⁿ; see § 4, 1, a) reciprocal-in-manner-to, all together

o'p-at-urwap-ī'ya' went along on it

imi'upa't-ux:WA through you, by means of you

36. *-'urai-*ⁿ TOWARD, AFTER; participialized *-'urainfi-* GOING TOWARD. Examples are:

qanū'u'ra' towards (the) house

u'u'raimpa-n-ianū I shall go toward, after it

fi 'a'urainfi' up it-toward-being-obj., up towards it

Unlike other postpositions, *'urai-* seems often to occur as a phonetically independent word, an adverb with prepositional function, e. g.:

qanu'an u'ra' paɣ(ε)'i' house-obj.-I towards go-present (= *qanu'an u'ra'*, perhaps *qanu'an u'u'ra'*, it-toward), I go towards the house
NU²qwi'm' muan u'ra' run-moving-me towards, comes running toward me

37. *-pa-* AT (spirantized form *-va-* used with personal pronominal stems—not including demonstrative stems, which are followed by *-va-*², 38 —, after diminutive *-tsi-*, and rarely after verbs, see § 55, 2; geminated form *-pa-* occurs less frequently, with certain adverbs and compounded, 16, 18); with enclitic *-cu-* (§ 19, 2, k) *-vacu-* (JOINTED) IN SO AND SO MANY PLACES (after numeral stems); participialized *-vatci-* BEING AT, TO, ABOUT; *-patcuɣwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING TO (*-vatcuɣwa-* with pronouns and personal nouns, *-p'atcuɣwa-* with certain adverbs); *-vatcuɣu-* (cf. 30, 41) DURING (of time); *-vayu-* (cf. 49) ACTING AT, FROM; DURING, THROUGH (of time). Curiously enough, *-pa-* is treated as though ending in *i*, hence followed by *-tc-* instead of *-r-*. Examples are:

aŋa'φA he-at, where he is
pi'tciRi nī'u'φ^A arriving I-at, arriving at my place
mi(y)ɔ''tsiφA ti'qa'ŋ'wipīya' far-little-at became, got a little way off
wa'ixapīya ŋn-i'φA deliberated do-at, (they) deliberated as to (what they were) to do
tcaɣi'p^A near (= proximity-at)
paa'iwāc-U (jointed) in three places

am-i'v²atciA tŋwa'q-ŋumpa' they-at-being-obj. shoot-momentaneous-shall, shall shoot at them
nī' aŋa'vatciA pu'tcu'tcuɣwai' I he-at-being-obj. know-present, I know about him
uŋwa'vatcuɣwaŋqwaipīya' he-at-to-go-past, went to him
pi(y)atcuɣwaφi (he went) to his own mother
tcaɣi'p'atcuɣwa near-to, (they fought) close together
tɣwa'vatcuɣu during (the) night
tuxwa'va(i)YU through, during (the) night
mava'(i)ʔfiɣan-i' (probably = *-vayU-*) that-at-acting-become (§ 60, 2, b)- like; at, to a certain distance

For compounded forms, see 2, 15, 16, 18, 23; also 7, 33, 48.

38. *-pa-ⁿ* AT (parallel to 37, but freely suffixed to nouns, generally as spirantized *-va-ⁿ*, only infrequently as geminated *-p'a-ⁿ* or nasalized *-mpa-ⁿ*); objective *-mpa-ŋqu-*; participialized *-va-nti-* BEING AT (less often *-p'a-nti-*, *-mpa-nti-*; *-p'a-nti-* ABOUT, CONCERNING with verbs, see § 55, 2); *-va-ntim ananqwa-* (cf. 7, 18) STARTING FROM; *-va-nturywa* (cf. 30) TO, ON TO (less often *-p'a-nturywa-*; *-p'a-nturywa-* TO, DURING with verbs, see § 55, 2); *-va-yu-* (cf. 49) ACTING AT, FROM (less often *-p'a-yu-*, *-mpa-yu-*; *-p'a-yu-* sometimes with verbs, see § 55, 2). Examples of this most important of all postpositions are:

ava' it-at, there; *mava'*, *m^wa'va'* there (vis.); *uv^wa'*, *u'v^wa'* there (inv.); *ivä'*, *v'vä'* this-at, here

qaniv^a-ni at my house

tümp^wi'p'a' stone-at (< *tümp^wi-^o*; but also *tümp^wi'vā'*)

mia-^aγantümpa' on (the) divide (< *mia-^aγantü-ⁿ*)

tγo'iyqwyump^a-ŋquni right-crown-at-obj.-my, (hit me) right on the crown of my head

i'vā-nt ari this-at-being it, that which is here

uv^wa-^antia pu'ca'γaik-^zAp^γa' there-being-obj. hunt for-plur.-past, there (they) hunted for (him)

fin'angqiva-c'umi ni'ni unip'ä-ntianu tell-to-will-thee me do-at-being-obj.-my, I will tell you about what I do

m^wa'va-ntimananqwa that (vis.)-at-being-on-direction, starting from there

niv^wa-^antux-wa (coming) on to, upon me

uv^wa-^anturyw^aŋwa wina'i'p^γa'aiŋwa there-to-him (inv.) throw-past-him (inv.), right there (he) threw him down

pao'(w)i'pa-ntux-wa water-canyon-at-to, down to (the) canyon

poro'm'uiap-a-nturywafⁱ travel-moving-at-to-own, during their own traveling

ki(y)ap i'va'a(i)yu tiχa'iva' round-dance here-acting happen-shall, a round-dance will take place here

uv^wa-yu'mi nanwa'aimi pa(i)yi'q-w'cip-ⁱγa' there-acting-dual reciprocal-with-dual return-go-past, from there both of them returned home

qwaⁱŋupa-yuφi camp (plur.)-momentaneous-at-acting-own, at their own camping place, where they were staying over night

mim-i'antisyantimpa-(i)yu ta'teo'n'naza' divides (distributively)-little-being-at-acting scratch-subordinating, while scratching around in little divides

For compound forms, see 3, 21, 28, 31.

There are also forms with *-va(·)'a-* and *-va(·)'a(i)yu-* for normal *-va-* and *-va(i)yu-*. What the significance of the vocalic breaking is is not evident. It is barely possible that *-va'a-* is to be analyzed as *-va-* + enclitic *-a-* (§ 19, 3, a); yet the suffixing of non-enclitic *-yu-* to *-va'a-* makes this highly improbable. Examples are:

m^wα'va'anīm^w1 qanu'χa' there-we (exclus.) house-have, we live there
'i'va'a(i)y qni'ny here-acting do-momentaneous, start(s) from here

Here may belong also 46, 47.

39. *-vai-^o*, does not seem to occur alone; participialized *-vait-ī-* EQUALLY TO, AS — AS, generally followed by enclitic *-n-ia-* (§ 19, 2, d); *-vait-γγ-ⁿ* ALONGSIDE OF. Examples are:

tγγ'n^wva'fīm pa'a'(i)yīn-ia-ηA just-I-equal-being-plural tall-present-like-he (vis.), he is as tall as I am
qani'vait'qni' house-equal-being-like, about the size of a house
taḡwa'vait-xx-γ (moving) alongside of us (incl.)
am-i'v^waitγγqw'aiγa' while passing alongside of them

40. *-vaia-*, occurs only compounded; participialized *-vaiananḡwat-ī-* (cf. 18) BEFORE REACHING, e. g.:

'an^wvaiananḡwa'fīx-^U wants *an^w kwī'pa'p-īγa'* he-before-being-objective-again antelope he fell, the antelope fell down dead before reaching him

41. *-vaiyauq-u-* AT — TIME (for *-q-u-* cf. *-vatuq-u-* DURING, 37); *-vaiyau-* is probably compounded of *-va-* (38), or *-va-* (37), and otherwise non-occurring *-yau-*. Examples are:

'u'v^waiyauq-^U at that (inv.) time, then, thereupon (very common as sentence-introducing adverb in mythical narrative)
'i'tcia-q-A pīv^wa'iyauq-^U qana'ri-tsqwī'ag umī pu'pu'tcuḡwap-ī this (inan. obj.) -it (vis.) which-time Kanab-Indians-obj.-it (inv.) they (inv.) learn (distributively)-past partic., this is the time at which the Kanab Indians learned it

42. *-vantī-* PLACE LEFT OVER (with numeral stems; perhaps only *-va-nī-*, 38), e. g.:

cv'v^wantīc-^U one-more-also, only one more
waa'vantīc-^U only two places left

43. *-paŋwi-^o* IN, INSIDE OF (very likely compounded of *-pa-^s*, 37, and *-ŋwi-^o*, 14; generally appears as spirantized *-vaŋwi-*, far less frequently as geminated *-paŋwi-*, nasalized *-mpaŋwi-*); participialized *-paŋwit-i-*; *-paŋwit-ɣwa-* (cf. 30) INTO; *-paŋwit-um-ananqwa-* (cf. 30, 7, 18) OUT FROM INSIDE OF; *-paŋwiyu-* (cf. 49) ACTING IN. Examples are:

qani'vaŋwi house-in, inside (the) house
tɔɔ'ɔ'ɔ'vaŋwitɪA kwi'pa'p'ɪɣa' right-it-in-being-obj. fell, (he) fell right in it
mɔ'ɔ'vaŋwit-ɣwa-ŋA into his (vis.) hand (it flew)
qanu'vaŋwit-umananqwa (he came) out from (the) house
qana'uŋwaɣantimpaŋwituxWA willow-canyon-in-to, in through a willow-bordered canyon
wa'ixan-a'amɪ qan-i'vaŋwiyu deliberate-verbal noun- their (vis.) house-in-acting, their deliberating while in (the) house

44. *-vatcaŋwi-^o* MEETING, TOWARDS (person) (probably contains *-pa-^s*, 37, and *-ŋwi-^o*, 14; *-ta-*, perhaps < *-ta-*, is unexplained); *-vatcaŋwit-ɣwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING TOWARDS, FACING. Examples are:

maŋa'vatcaŋwɪp'ɪɣa' met him (vis.)
uŋwa'vatcaŋwituxWA (rolled over) towards him (inv.)
qani'vatcaŋwituxWA facing (the) house

45. *-pa(i)ya-^s*, *-pa(i)ya-^s* SURFACE (cf. independent noun stem *pa(i)ya-^s* SURFACE, FACE), occurs frequently compounded with following postpositions, particularly after *tɣu-ⁿ*, *tɣump-^s* SKY (*-v-*, *-p-*, and *-mp-* are all found); *-pa(i)ya-ɣi-* (cf. 5) MOVING THROUGH, ALONG; *-pa(i)ya-m-ayu-* (cf. 7, 49) FROM; *-pa(i)ya-m-ananqwa-* (cf. 7, 18) FROM; *-pa(i)ya-rɣwa-* (cf. 30) UP BESIDE; *-pa(i)ya-ruq-wa-* (cf. 31) UNDER, NEXT TO. Examples are:

tɣu'mpa(i)ya-xɪ (he sings flying) through (the) air
tɣu'mpa(i)ya-m-a(i)YU sky-surface-from, way up from (the) sky
tɣu'mpaɪA pa(i)ya'm-ananqwa sky (obj.) surface-from, from (the) sky
qaiwa'vaiaruxWA mountain-surface-to, up beside (the) mountain
uwa'(i)ya-ruqWA it (inv.)-surface-under, next to it
tɣu'mpa(i)yarugWA sky-surface-under, under (the) sky

46. *-pa'a-ɣi-^o* OVER, ACROSS (possibly compounded of *-pa'a-* AT, 38, and *-ɣi-^o*, 5; generally spirantized *-va'a-ɣi-^o*, rarely geminated *-pa'a-ɣi-^o*); participialized *-pa'a-ɣit-i-*. Examples are:

qani'v'a:x:1 over (the) house (he flies)

nava'a:x:1 over (him)self

o(w)l'p'a'γuk:zA canyon-over-verbal present, (he) goes across a canyon-creek

'aηa'v'a-γut:1A he-over-being-obj., (he struck) over him (with his wing)

47. *-pa'an-a-* ON, UPON, RESTING ABOVE, ABOUT (possibly compounded of *-pa'a-* AT, 38, and non-independent *-na-*, cf. 17, 18, 21; generally spirantized *-va'an-a-*, rarely geminated *-p'a'an-a-*); participialized *-pa'anfi-*; *-pa'anturywa-* (cf. 30) ON TO, AGAINST; *-pa'an-ayu-* (cf. 49) ACTING ON. Examples are:

qani'v'an-a-ηA pay(a)'in'ni' house-on-he (vis.) walk-continuative-present, he walks on (the) house

niv'a'ana I-on; on, about me

tümp'w'i'p'ana on a stone (< *tümp'w-i-ø*)

sa'va'n'tiaη ari back-on-being-his (vis.) it, the (thing) on his back

aη'a'vantux:WA on to him, against him

ava'an-a(i)YU it-on-acting, from above it (he sat and watched)

48. *-vi-ø* IN BACK OF (cf. instrumental prefix *pi-ø*, § 21, 3; also independent adverb *pimit-urywa-* BACK, § 60, 2, b); occurs only compounded: *-vimit-urywa-* (cf. 13) OUT OF; *-vin-a-γi-* (cf. 17) BEHIND; *-vinanqwa-* (cf. 18) BEHIND, AFTER, FOLLOWING; *-vinanqwap-a-*, *-vinanqwap-a-* (cf. 18, 37) (RESTING) BEHIND; participialized *-vinanqwa-p-atci-*; *vinanqwap-atcurywa-* (cf. 18, 37, 30) MOVING AFTER; *vinanqwa-p-ayu-* (cf. 18, 37, 49) ACTING BEHIND; *-vina-p-i-*, *-vi-na-p-i-* BEHIND (cf. 34). Examples are:

tiηqa'nu uv'w'i'mitux:WA cave (obj.) it (inv.)-back-out of, (he came) out of the cave

navi'n'a:x:1 behind (him)self

uηwa'vinanqwa after him (inv.) (he sang)

qani' uv'w'i'nanqwp:A house (obj.) it (inv.)-behind-at, in back of the house

ymu'v'nanqwap:A behind them (inv.)

aηa'vinanqwa'patciA taη'p'i'γa' he-behind-at-being-obj. lit, (he) lit behind him

niηwi'v'nanqwa-patcurywa'amī person-behind-at-to-dual, (they) 2 (went) after everybody else (had gone)

uv'w'i'n-anqwap-a(i)YU wa'i'x:Ap'i'γa' it (inv.)-behind-at-acting deliberated, (they) were deliberating outside

nĩv'i'na'p'ĩ behind me
'aŋa'vina'p'ĩ behind him

49. *-yu-*. This important element (see 1, 7, 17, 31, 37, 38, 43, 47; also 2, 3, 30, 45, 48) occurs almost entirely in composition with preceding postpositions. It is not properly a postposition itself, but is likely to be etymologically identical with the verbal subordinating *-yu-* (see § 55, 1, c). The translation ACTING that has been given for it in the preceding entries is only an awkward approximation to its significance. It seems to indicate that the action of the verb takes place under the circumstances indicated in the postpositional phrase, which may thus be conceived of as subordinately verbified.

Uncompounded *-yu-* seems to occur in:

pa'a'(i)yon'i' pa(i)yũ'ŋvũ'ya' high-acting-like return-momentaneous-past, high up (he went and) came back, (he) returned from high up

Compounded *-yu-* (particularly *-m-ayu-* and *-va-yu-*) is also often most easily rendered as FROM.

VERB MORPHOLOGY (§ § 51-56).

§ 51. *General Remarks on verbal form.*

(1) TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE. With very few exceptions, verb stems are inherently either transitive or intransitive, changes from one voice to the other being brought about by means of suffixes or changes in the final stem vowel (§ 53, 1, b, f). The only examples noted of verb stems that are both transitive and intransitive are: *kwip-a-* TO STRIKE, HIT and TO FALL ON BEING STRUCK, TO BE LAID LOW, and, not altogether without doubt, *paq-a-* TO KILL, BEAT (ONE PERSON) and TO BE SORE, TO SUFFER PAIN. Instrumental prefixes, it will be recalled, have an inherently transitivizing force, e. g. *pon'na-χ(w)a-* TO MAKE A DRUMMING NOISE (intr.), *wĩ-p-on'na-* TO DRUM (WITH A DRUMSTICK).

(2) ABSOLUTE VERB FORMS. As has been abundantly illustrated, verb forms, even aside from nominal derivatives (§ 25, 1-6), often appear without either enclitic or suffixed tense elements. Such forms may be conveniently termed absolutes. They are used under various circumstances:

(a) When tense (and pronominal) elements are appended to another preceding word in the sentence, the verb appears as an absolute, e. g.:

a'itca'ḡani qu'q'wI then-preterit-him (vis.)-I shoot, then I shot him;
contrast *qu'qu'itca'ḡani* I shot him

(b) In imperative forms (see § 52).

(c) Frequently in interrogative forms, where reference is had to present time.

(d) Generally substantive verbs (*aro'a-*, *uru'a-*, § 56) have no present suffix, present (or general) time being implied when there is no tense suffix.

(e) Verbs of BEING and HAVING in *-kai-* (§ 26, 1, a and b) take no *-yī-* to express present time, but are tenseless, e. g. *qani'ḡaini* I HAVE A HOUSE. It is probable that in such cases *-kai-* represents an old contraction of *-kai-yī-*, as the *-yī-* reappears after an intervening impersonal *-t'ua-* (see § 29, 14; § 32, 8).

§ 52. *The imperative.*

The imperative is only negatively determined as regards form, i. e. by the absence of tense elements, further by the frequent absence of the second person singular in forms that have a pronominal or nominal object. Syntactically, imperatives are remarkable in that they take an object in the subjective form. The pronominal subject or object, as usual, may be appended either to the verb or to a preceding element, e. g. hortatory *īw'ī-* (§ 60, 2, d). Examples illustrative of these remarks are:

īw'ī drink-thou! drink!

aw'mituḡwa'a it-out of-thou! go out!

īw'ī *īw'īḡu* hortatory-thou drink-momentaneous! go ahead, take a drink!

qatcu'' wa'a'ḡ(y)a'p'A not-thou shout-negative! don't shout!

ḡai'm'aḡani stick-give-me! give me a stick!

man'ḡ'q'ḡnīm'I t'ḡNA all (obj.)-us (exclus.) punch! punch all of us!

pA'ḡa'ḡuaḡA sari.'t'c aḡA kill-him (vis.) dog (subjective) he (vis.)! kill the dog!

tḡa'amī punch-them (inv.)!

ḡwiri'k'itsiaq' i'tcī tī'ḡa'ḡA arise-gerund (§ 55, 1, a)-it (vis.) this (inan. subjective) eat-it (vis.)! after getting up, eat this!

uw'a'ḡtini ya'ḡḡik'I it (inv.)-at-being (subjective)-me carry-for-hither! bring me (it) over there!

Imperatives with a dual or plural subject do not seem to occur with enclitic pronominal subject, but are characterized instead by an

enclitic *-ya-*, appended either to the verb form or a preceding word. In plural imperative forms the verb is plural in form; dual imperatives, particularly if intransitive, frequently add dual pronominal enclitic *-' . . mī-* to *-ya-*: *-y'amī-*. Examples of plural and dual imperatives, with and without pronominal objects, are:

- tī'qa'q'a(i)YA*, *tī'qa'q'ai'* eat ye!
qatcu'i' minto'n'ia'p'A not-plur. imper. run (plur. verb-stem)-negative! do not run away (plur.)!
təγə'q'wya'amī run (sing. verb-stem)-imper.-dual! ye 2 run!
mīm'w'i'yəu tō'NA ye-plur. imper.-me punch (sing. verb-stem)! ye 2 punch me!
təna'y'aŋWA ye 2 punch him (inv.)!
i(y)ε'nuq(w)a(i)ya'q'A this-at (§ 50, 4, 1)-plur. subject-plur. imper.-it (vis.)! here it is! (speaking to more than two; note idiomatic use of imperative)
wī'qa'm'iyaa'qa'amī cover-plur. imper.-it (vis.)-dual! ye 2 cover it!
qatcu'ya-mī yaŋw'(y)ap'A not-plur. imper.-them (vis.) carry (sing. verb-stem)-negative! do ye 2 not carry them 2!

What is probably an emphatic imperative is sometimes formed by appending enclitic *-aq-a-* to the verb or a preceding word. In all probability this *-aq-a-* is merely an idiomatic use of enclitic pronominal *-aq-a-* IT (VIS.); it has the position of a pronominal enclitic. That it is not to be merely construed as a pronominal object, properly speaking, is shown by its use with inherently intransitive as well as transitive verbs. On the other hand, it does not seem to occur where the verb has a true pronominal object. Examples of imperative *-aq-a-* are:

- qa'aq'A* sing!
təγə'q'w(y)aq'A go ahead and run!
təγə'q'wya'q'A ye 2 run!
nīw'ə'ya'q'A cv'p'a-ro'a I-at-plur. imper.-it (vis.) assemble! do ye come together at my place!

§ 53. Internal stem changes.

Verbal stem changes in Paiute that are of morphological significance may be classified under the heads of reduplication (see § 58, 3-6), vocalic modification, and consonantal affection. Only the two latter are discussed at this point.

(1) VOCALIC ALTERNATIONS. Vocalic alternations are either quantitative or qualitative, the former, insofar as they are of morphological

significance, being relatively infrequent. In all, six types of vocalic alternation may be recognized.

(a) *Vocalic lengthening*. A short vowel may be lengthened, a long one over-lengthened (e. g. *a* to *a'a*), to indicate the idea of IN VAIN, TO NO EFFECT, e. g.:

qa'ap'īya' sang to no effect (< *qa-* to sing)

a'aip'īya' said without effect (< *ai-* to say)

a'mpaχai' talks to no purpose (< *ampa'χai'* talks)

'o'n'nū'uqWA did it (inv.) in vain (< *un'i'η'uqWA* did it)

These examples indicate that it is regularly the first vowel of the word which is lengthened.

Another group of cases of vocalic lengthening seems to be associated with the idea of continuation. Examples are not very numerous:

pūn'ηwīn-q'n'uq-wiχw'aiva'aηWA look-stand about (*-ηwīn-o-* < *-ηwīn-ī-* to stand, assimilated by following *-n'uq-wi-*)-run-go-future-him (inv.), shall go to stand around looking for him

yni'īχu'umī do (< *yni-*)-subordinating-them (inv.), while they 2 were so doing

pō't-ō'qwa- to be spherical: *pō't-ō'ī'kai-* to be spherical

tsi'tsiwāyāxip'īyain'i' it seemed that (arrows) were stuck in in several places (lengthened from normal reduplicated *tsi-tsi-* > *tsi'tsi'*-)

Perhaps *ma'n-i-campa-* BARELY is similarly lengthened from *man-i'-campa-* THAT-WAY-ONLY, ONLY IN THAT WAY, e. g.:

u'wa'a'x1 ma'a'ni-i-campa ya'uq-wipūya' it (inv.)-over barely entered, barely escaped by going over it

(b) *Vocalic alternation to indicate number (and voice)*. In certain verbs, the final vowel is *a*, *a'*, *o*, or *u* in the intransitive singular, *i* in the intransitive plural and in the transitive. Examples are:

tōp-a-q-i- (tree, feather, tooth) *tōvi-tcai-* several come loose; *tōp-i-n'na-* to pluck out one;

-tōvi-tca- to pluck out several

qap-a-q-i- to stop (intr.)

qavi-tcai- several stop; *qavi-tca-* to stop several

tīp-a-q-i- one comes out, emerges

tīv^ui-tcai- several emerge

paγa-q-i-, *paq-a-q-i-* to tear (intr.)

paγ(a)i-tcai- several tear (intr.), are worn out; *-paq-i-n'na-* to tear one; *-paγ(a)i-tca-* to tear several

tcaḡwūq·a- one disappears
qəwə-q·(w)i-, *qəpə-q·(w)i-* to break
 (intr.)

wiyum' mu-q·(w)i-ḡqī- to lash
 (horse) on buttocks, causing him
 to start (secondarily transitive-
 ized by *-ḡqī-*, § 29, 10)

tcaḡwīk·i- several die off
qəvi-tcaī- several break (intr.);
qəp·i-n'na- to break one;
qəvi-tca- to break several
wi-yum' mi- (Ute), also *winəm' mi-*
 to jerk up one's buttocks (con-
 tinuously)

(c) *Vocalic alternation to indicate aspect.* In a few cases a final *-a-* vowel of the stem when used iteratively (or continuatively) contrasts with an *-i-* of the stem when used semelfactively, e. g.:

<i>up·uq·(w)i-</i> to bounce (once)	<i>ov^woq·(w)a-γ(ε)i-</i> to bounce up and down
<i>-q·i-</i> semelfactive intransitive (§ 30, 3)	<i>-γa-</i> continuative intransitive (§ 30, 1)

(d) *Vocalic alternation to indicate active (-a-) and medio-passive or static (-i-).* A very considerable number of verb stems alternate in their final vowel between *a-* and *i-*, a smaller number between *ya-* and *i-*. The former form of the stem is used for the active intransitive (or transitional) voice, the latter for the medio-passive, static, or resultative voice. The *i-* forms seem to be durative, the *a-* forms tend to be momentaneous. Examples are:

<i>i-pətsin' i-k·ai-</i> to be ready to start off	<i>pətsin' na-</i> to start off (for a race)
<i>muntun' ni-</i> to lie covered up	<i>muntuna-</i> to lie down and cover oneself up
<i>qəi' ni-</i> to hang together in two parts	<i>qəi' na-</i> to come together, dangle in two parts
<i>-m' unuq·wi-</i> to be round	<i>-m' unuq·wa-</i> to become round
<i>nəqəm' mi-(k·ai-)</i> to be bent, <i>nəqə-</i> <i>m·i-</i> to bend (slowly; intr.)	<i>nəqəm' ma-</i> to give a bend (intr.)
<i>ə·i-k·ai-</i> to be bent	<i>ə·ya-</i> to bend (intr.)
<i>nəḡa-ntup·i-</i> several are angry (<i>-tup·i-</i> plural stem found only in compounds, parallel to sing. <i>-ya'ai-</i> to die)	<i>nəḡa-ntup·a-</i> several get angry
<i>patcaq·wi-</i> to be wet	<i>patcaq·wa-</i> to get wet
<i>pat·ca' i-k·ai-</i> to be fastened on to	<i>pat·ca' a-</i> to be left fastened

- ut-cum'mi-* to have one's eyes closed *ut-cum'ma-* to close one's eyes
pon-i- to stick out one's buttocks, *pon-a-* to stoop and stick out
 pon-i-k'ai- to have one's but- one's buttocks
 tocks stuck out

In some cases that have been recorded, there seems to be little appreciable difference in meaning between the *i-* and *a-* forms, though this may be due to inadequate translation, e. g.:

- tcuywi-* to approach (tr.) *tcuywa-* dit.
ciri'i- to be frightened, surprised *ciri'ya-* dit.

(e) *Alternation of transitional -i- and static -a-*. This type, apparently the exact opposite of the preceding, is sparsely represented, e. g.:

- pon-o'a-* to be full *pon-o'i-* to become full

(f) *Alternation of intransitive -i-, -a- and transitive -a-*. In these verbs it is difficult to discover the difference in meaning between the *i-* and *a-* forms (cf. d above). In some cases only *i-* alternates with *a-*. The alternation of *-i-* and *-a-* is evidently an old Uto-Aztekan feature; cf. such Nahuatl doublets as *cotoni* TO BREAK (intr.): *cotona* TO WOUND, CUT; *tomi* TO OPEN UP (intr.): *toma* TO OPEN (tr.), DELIVER; and numerous others. Paiute examples are:

- tuγwi-, tuγwa-* fire goes out *tuγwa-* to put out a fire
yaug-wi-, yaug-wa- to enter, sun *-yaug-wa-* to push in
 sets
to-q-wi- to stretch (intr.) *-to-q-wa-* to stretch (tr.)
mīn-ic-i- to turn, roll (intr.) *tsi-mīn-ic-a-* to turn (meat) with
 a spit
impin'i-, impin'na- to be raised *impin'na-* to raise so as to un-
 resting on (something) cover
ovi- hair is out, *ova-* hair comes *ova-* to pull out hair, pluck
 out feathers
nu'i-k'ai- several stand *nu'a-* to throw down several

Here may belong also:

- wīn-i-* to stand *wīn-ai-* to throw down (a person)

Transitives of these verbs with animate object end in *-a-ŋqī-* (§ 29, 10), e. g.:

tca'mpün-a-ŋq̃p-ĩrai(y)aq-A (< *tca-ĩmpün-a-*) lifted it (vis.) up from (him)
maru'x-Uqwa-ŋq̃āŋA to stretch him (vis.)

It is not clear whether these forms are to be considered as transitivised from intransitives in *-a-* or as built on *-a-* transitives with lengthened vowel before *-ŋq̃i-*.

(2) CONSONANTAL AFFECTION. Two groups of cases are to be recognized, glottalization and gemination of stem consonants. These seem to be equivalent processes. Not infrequently they occur together in the same form, e. g. *ts-ka'p-in'NA* TO CUT (momentaneously): *ts-ka'vinA* TO CUT (duratively).

(a) *Glottalization of verb stems.* This process operates:

1. To indicate distribution, e. g.:

<i>wa'tcū'ŋwiyun-i'</i> four	<i>wa'a'ŋwAtcū'ŋwiyun-i'</i> eight (lit., four here and there)
<i>waŋwi-</i> several stand	<i>wa'a'ŋwitiip-ĩra'</i> caused (them) each to stand
<i>yun-a-</i> to put several down (in one place)	<i>yun-a'(a)i-</i> to put down in several places

2. To indicate iteration, e. g.:

<i>iyon-a-</i> to carry in one's arms	<i>iyon'na-</i> to carry several times
<i>ya-vayai-</i> to fear	<i>yī'ĩ-paq-ai-</i> to be afraid several times (note irregular change of <i>-a-</i> to <i>-ĩ-</i>)

3. To indicate momentaneous activity, e. g. *-n'na-* momentaneous transitive with singular object: *-na-* durative transitive with singular object (§ 30, 4).

Glottalization alone as a grammatical process is relatively rare. Generally it accompanies distributive or iterative reduplication (see § 58, 3 and 4), less often gemination alone (see b).

(b) *Gemination in verb stems.* Gemination primarily denotes momentaneous activity; the contrast between momentaneous and durative, as might be expected, tends to become one of singularity and plurality. Gemination is very commonly employed with the momentaneous suffixes *-q-i-* (§ 30, 3) and *-n'na-* (§ 31, 2, c). Other examples of momentaneous gemination are:

<i>tī-yai-</i> to happen	<i>tī-q'aj'-wi-</i> to take place (at one moment of time)
<i>nayava-</i> to seem	<i>nayaḥ'a-ḥu-</i> to get to seem
<i>nayari-ḥqī-</i> to dodge	<i>nayat-i-ḥqī-</i> to dodge quickly
<i>yauywi-tai-</i> several enter	<i>yauq-wi-</i> one enters
<i>ta-'ni-yi-</i> to stick one's foot in (duratively, customarily)	<i>ta-'nik-i-</i> to stick one's foot in (momentaneously)
<i>tsi-q'ur'u-</i> to be poking in a hole with the point of a stick	<i>tsi-q'ut'u-na-</i> to take out of a hole with a stick
<i>qī-nivuywi-</i> to nibble at	<i>qī-nip-uywi-</i> to gnaw
<i>tup'un-ni-</i> to be waking up	<i>tup'un-ni-</i> to wake up (at once)
<i>no-'orua-</i> to be pregnant	<i>no-'ot-ua-</i> to appear pregnant (right off)
<i>yī'i-yi-k'a-</i> several swallow	<i>yī'ik-i-</i> one swallows
<i>-ya-</i> durative suffix (§ 30, 1)	<i>-q-i-</i> momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 3)

Far less frequently gemination indicates iterative activity, e. g.:

<i>qaq'ari-</i> to run away	<i>qaq'at-i-</i> to run away several times
<i>ya-vayai-</i> to fear	<i>yī'i-p'aq'ai-</i> to be afraid several times

Even these examples are really but special forms of gemination accompanying reduplication. Combined gemination and reduplication, to indicate distribution or iteration, is common (see § 58, 3, h; § 58, 4, a, d, f).

§ 54. Singular and plural stems.

All verbs are determined as regards singularity or plurality of the subject, less often of the object also; the singular form includes reference to the dual. The most common method of indicating plurality of the subject is by the use of the suffix *-q-a-* (§ 31, 1, c); for other suffixes indicating or implying plurality of subject or object, see § 31, 1, a and b; § 31, 2, a-d. Vocalic alternation of the final vowel of the stem is also sometimes associated with change of number (see § 53, 1, b). The idea of distribution expressed by reduplication often passes over into that of plurality of the subject or object (see § 58, 3).

Besides these formal methods of expressing number, there are certain verb stems that are inherently limited in their reference to number, the singular-dual of the intransitive subject or transitive object being expressed by a stem which is etymologically distinct

from that for the plural of the intransitive subject or transitive object. Certain of these stem contrasts are:

qari- one sits, dwells
avi- one lies
wün-i- one stands
pa(i)yü- one returns
püci- one arrives
pay(a)i- one goes, walks

apüi- one sleeps
təyq-wi- one runs
qaq-ari- one runs away
iya- one enters
wü-i-(q-u-) one falls
nontsi- to fly
 (not limited in number)

tsik-an'na- one appears
təyqwa- one (bow) snaps

ya-, *yaqwi-* to carry one (object)
quü- to take one (object)

watci- to put one (object)
paq-a- to kill one (anim. obj.)

wün-ai- to throw down one
(tsi)-niyi- to stick in one

mi'na-(q-i-) one (object) breaks
 off

yuywi- several sit, dwell
qwavi- several lie
waqwi-, nu'i-(k-ai-) several stand
pan-aya- several return
imüi- several arrive
poro- several travel; *mia-* several
 go
aq-s'i- several sleep
yon-i-, yon'ni- several run
minton'ni- several run away
wayi- several enter
yun-ia- several fall
ya-c-i- several fly off

maya-(yu-) several appear
qavi-lcai- several snap (plurality
 indicated by *-lcai-*, not by stem)
yu'a- to carry several (objects)
tu'um-a- to take several (ob-
 jects)
yun-a- to put several (objects)
qo'i-, qoys'i- (reduplicated) to
 kill several
nu'a- to throw down several
(tsi)-qway(a)i- to stick in several
 (cf. *wayi-* above)
mimis'i- (reduplicated) several
 break off (irregularly related
 to singular form)

Several of these verb stems are also used as the second element in compound verbs. The whole verb may be characterized as singular or plural in this way; a pluralizing *-q-a-* may thus become unnecessary, e. g. *ivi-* ONE DRINKS: *ivi-k-a-* SEVERAL DRINK, but *ivi-qwün-i-* ONE DRINKS STANDING: *ivinqwaywi-* SEVERAL DRINK STANDING. Singularity or plurality of the object is not disturbed by composition, e. g. *paq-a-qwün-i-* ONE STANDS AND KILLS ONE; *paq-a-qwaywi-* SEVERAL STAND AND KILL ONE; *qo'i-qwün-i-* ONE STANDS AND KILLS SEVERAL; *qo'i-qwaywi-* SEVERAL STAND AND KILL SEVERAL. Similarly, note

qwīī- ONE TAKES ONE; *qwīīq-a-* SEVERAL TAKE ONE; *tu'um-a-* ONE TAKES SEVERAL; *tu'um-aq-a-* SEVERAL TAKE SEVERAL.

A small number of singular and plural verb stems are used only as second elements in verb compounds, e. g.:

<i>-kwa'(a)i-</i> one goes (see § 28, 1; practically suffix)	<i>-m-ia-</i> several go (less frequently used as independent stem)
<i>-ya'(a)i-</i> to die (independent stem), e. g. <i>tīyī-ya'ai-</i> to die of hunger, to be hungry	<i>-tup-i-, -tup-a-</i> (only in compounds; perhaps identical with <i>tup-i-</i> to be used up), e. g. <i>tīyī-tcup-i-</i> several are hungry, <i>naṇa-ntup-a-</i> several get angry
<i>u²qu'mpu-tcaq-ai-</i> one (thing) goes off in dust	<i>u²qu'mpu-tcūcai-xw'ai-</i> several (things) go up in dust

The plural *-navitci-* TO BECOME (perhaps reciprocal *na-²* + *pitci-* TO ARRIVE: TO ARRIVE WITH ONE ANOTHER, TO GET TO BE AMONG THEMSELVES) either corresponds to singular *-tīq-an'wi-* (also used independently) TO BECOME or is used as a verbal quasi-suffix of plurality, e. g.:

<i>qatcūt-iq-an'wi-</i> to not-become, one gets tired out	<i>qatcūn-avitci-</i> several get tired out
<i>patcaq-wi-</i> one is (or gets) wet	<i>patcaq-winavitci-</i> several get wet
<i>tuywi-</i> fire goes out	<i>tuywinavitci-</i> fires go out

§ 55. *Verb syntax.*

Under this head may be conveniently grouped a number of phenomena that affect the verb in relation to other words in the sentence.

(1) SUBORDINATING ELEMENTS. Subordinate clauses, denoting cause, time, condition, concession, or attendant circumstance, are extremely frequent in Paiute. Those of these clauses that are used with logical subjects put them in the objective form. Thus, a sentence like WHEN I CAME, YOU WERE AWAY is rendered WHEN ME CAME, YOU WERE AWAY. In all probability the objective is in these cases to be interpreted genitively, the subordinating element as a specialized postposition; e. g. AT MY COMING, YOU WERE AWAY. This receives some support from the fact that a few of the ordinary postpositions may be suffixed to verb forms (see 2 below). However, of the verb-subordinating elements only *-yu-* (see c below), possibly also *-q-u-* (see e), is employed also with nouns (see § 50, 4, 49). The

tense elements *-pa-* (§ 32, 4) and *-qai-* (§ 32, 3) may precede the subordinating suffix, but not the other tense elements. Five subordinating suffixes are found, the first three of which introduce clauses referring to the subject of the main clause, the other two clauses with a different subject.

(a) *-t-si-* gerund. Subordinates in *-t-si-* are here termed gerunds because they have no expressed subject, though they may have an object. Their logical subject is always the same as that of the main clause. They indicate antecedent circumstance or activity and are most appropriately translated in English by participial phrases: HAVING—ED. It is at least possible that the gerund *-t-si-* is etymologically related to the animate noun suffix *-tsi-* (§ 24, 1, f); such a sentence as HAVING SO DONE, HE RETURNED would then originally have meant THE ONE WHO DID SO RETURNED. Examples are:

maaditsiyw imi' gwa' aiywa pa(i) y'k'wa' find-gerund-him (inv.) thou-with-him (inv.) return-hither-will; having found him with you, (he) will come home

yui'k'ayumi'ts' min'i's'its uywa't'uk'ayup'iya' after having so done (plur.), having returned, (they) caused (it) to rain

yui'ts', yui' guts' having so done, then (frequently used as sentence connector); *yui' gutsiywa* then he (inv.)

ni' non'c'ci' qwiya'te'cuq'ay'wuts' I dream-present bear-become-gerund, I dream that I turned into a bear

Future gerunds in *-va-t-si-*, *-mpa-t-si-* BEING ABOUT TO—are also very common and frequently found in idiomatic turns. Examples are:

axa'n^{uz} kava'tsiywayw a'iz'kai' how-do-plural-future-gerund-him (inv.)-ye say-plural-present? being about to do what with him say ye? what do you (plur.) say you are to do with him?

cinda' gwa'vin-i' quna'iaraywa qwi'i'va-ts' an i'k'zA coyote-like fire-obj.-our (inclus.) take-future-gerund do-present, it seems Coyote does so being about to take our fire, Coyote acts as though intending to take our fire

ni' nantea' gA pa^z qq' umpa'tsyn iya't'i qoq'wI me-preterit-he (vis.) kill-future-gerund-me vainly shoot, he vainly shot being about to kill me, he tried to kill me but shot in vain

(b) *-kai-* WHEN, WHILE, AS; appears as spirantized *-yai-* or nasalized *-yqai-*. This is a true subordinating suffix, attached to verb forms whose subject is the same as that of the main verb. While *-t-si-*

forms denote antecedent activity, *-kai-* forms denote contemporaneity of action. Examples are:

sv'w' aŋwA qarī'm' muaxa' tīŋwī' wa' if (§ 60, 2, d)-he (inv.) sit-move-as fall-will; if he rides, he will fall down
qa'-(ai) yī tī' qa' ya' sings while eating
yaŋa' yaitea-ŋ iŋi' ŋu cry-as-preterit-he (vis.) drink-momentaneous; while he cried, he drank
qa'-(a) i paŋ(a) iŋka' sings while walking
qa' qa't-t' pūya' cua' ŋum iŋka'dik wA sat (iteratively) while eating it (inv.) up each time
-kai-c-u- (with enclitic *-c-u-*; see § 19, 2, k) often implies immediate sequence: AS SOON AS, e. g.:
a' i' ŋaic-u cina' ŋwaφi quma' manti wī' qa' m' m' k' ai p' i' ya' say-as-just coyote fire-at-being (obj.) covered; as soon as Coyote said so, (he) covered some of (the) fire

Concessive clauses of the same subject as the main clause are formed by appending *-c-ampa-* (§ 19, 2, j) to *-kai-*, e. g.:

iya' waŋaŋgaic-ampa-ŋA though fearing him (vis.), (he went to meet him)

(c) *-yu-* WHEN, WHILE, AS. This subordinating suffix seems to be identical in meaning with *-kai-* (see b above). It is suffixed only to stems or verb suffixes ending in *-ai-*. It always replaces *-kai-* after verb suffixes ending in *-ai-* (e. g. resultative subordinate *-q ai-yu-* WHEN SAYING, not **-q ai-ŋai-*). After verb stems in *-ai-*, *-kai-* is used (e. g. *ai-ŋai-* WHILE SAYING), unless followed by enclitic *-c-ampa-*, but not, e. g., *-c-u-* (hence *ai-ŋai-c-u-*, but *ai-yu-c-ampa-*). Examples of *-yu-* clauses are:

nīwī' ŋaiyu' u' nī person-be-as-thou do! act like a person!
naŋqa' q' ai' yuq wA when (he) heard it (inv.)

Clauses in *-yu-c-u-*, analogous to those in *-kai-c-u-* and *-ku-c-u-*, are found after verbal suffixes in *-ai-*, e. g.:

uŋi' k' ai yuc-u wī' i' k' u pūya' do-resultative-as-just fall-momentaneous-past; while so doing, (he) fell down

Concessive clauses in *-yu-c-ampa-* replace forms in *-kai-c-ampa-* after all verbs in *-ai-*, e. g.:

imi'ntcu' aru''a pan'o'x'qwa'yuc'ampa na'a'ivätcē thou-interrogative
art be-wet-when-only burn-usitative-participle, art thou wont to
burn even when wet?

qa'tcu' qu'qu'w'wai'yuc'ampa not shoot-negative-as-only; though not
shooting, (he kept on singing)

(d) *-q'a-* WHEN, IF. This subordinating suffix characterizes antecedent temporal and conditional clauses whose subject is different from that of the main clause. Examples are:

sv'v'a-ηA tən'a'q'anī təp'o'q'wvā' if-him (vis.) hit-if-me (= my)
run-will; if I hit him, (he) will run

imi'A p'a'qa'wvūq'a'amī mānac'u yax'a'va-n'i' thee (= thy) kill-
passive-if-thee (= thy) he (vis.) cry-will; if you get killed, he will
cry

nē' nana'i'āik'a-ηA yaya'a'x'aqai'xu' I anger-die-if-him (vis.; = his)
cry (momentaneous)-perfective-irrealis; if he had got angry, I
would have cried

yn'ηUqwa-ηA fiv'u'p'ina-x-i y'i'a'q'a-p'i'ya' do-momentaneous-him
(vis.; = his) earth-into entered; when he did so, (it) went into (the)
earth

MA'tca'ianqiq'a-ηA w'i'k'Upi'ya' reach-for-when-him (vis.; = his)
fall-momentaneous-past; as he reached for (it), (it) fell down

(e) *-ku-* WHILE, AS; appears as spirantized *-yu-*, nasalized *-ηqu-*, or geminated *-q'u-*. This subordinating element also is used in clauses whose subject is different from that of the main clause. Unlike *-q'a-* clauses (see c), however, *-ku-* subordinates generally indicate contemporaneity of action. Examples are:

uywa'(u)x'u qan'i't'ihwai' rain-when house-close-present; when (it)
rains, (he) shuts the door

nī'amī pñu'k'ai(y)amī po'YA'qaxoamī I-them (vis.) see-them (vis.)
run-plural-while-them (vis.; = their), I see them running

tA'cū'p'a(u)x'u evening-when, in the evening

ya'a'ixutca-ηcni qima'ηwitu'wau'ηU die-when-preterit-him (vis.; =
his)- I other- to (§ 50, 4, 14)-momentaneous; I went away while he
died

tA'cū'auqu dawn-when, at dawn

mam'a'utsiA ts'p'i'ηum-iyqū'ηWA woman (obj. = genitive) appear-
momentaneous-usitative-when-her (inv.), whenever the woman
went out

-qu- is not so freely used. It is regularly employed after verbalizing *-kai-* TO BE, TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, a and b), resultative *-q'ai-* (§ 30, 9), perfective *-q'ai-* (§ 32, 3), and negative *-ŋwa'ai-* (§ 57, 2, b). The *-ai-* of the first three of these elements becomes *-a-*, the *-a'ai-* of the last becomes *-a(·)'*. Examples are:

nē'ni a'ipateŋa q'unī me (= my) boy-be-when-me (= my); when I was a boy, (it happened)

maad'ip'ŋai(y) aŋa piŋwa'xa q'u find-past-him (vis.) wife-have-when; found him having (her) for wife

uni'k-a-q-u aŋ 'cai while he was doing so, (it happened)

yaa'ingwa' ai'k-a-q-o aŋa when he (vis.) had gone out hunting

tī'qa'q-aŋwa' q-ut-uac-ampa though others are not eating (for *-c-ampa-* see below; for order of impersonal *-t-ua-* see § 29, 14)

-qu- seems to be used also with a few verb stems, e. g.:

tana'ia maŋ'w'e'uk-xu sun-obj. rise-when, when (the) sun was up

Postpositional *-qu-* referring to time (see § 50, 4, 37 and 41) may be identical with subordinating *-qu-*; cf. also *i'tcuq-u* IN THE MORNING (§ 60, 2, a). In such a form as *tuχwa'r'u iŋuq-u* WHEN (IT) BECAME NIGHT, *-qu-* is perhaps dissimilated from *-ŋqu-*.

Enclitic *-c-u-* (§ 19, 2, k) may follow *-ku-* as well as *-kai-*, e. g.:

a'ixucuaŋa as he (vis.) said so, (something happened)

-c-ampa- (§ 19, 2, j) is used in concessive clauses, e. g.:

yaya'x-ucampaŋwa even if he (inv.) cries

uni'ŋumŋqucampa q'amī do-momentaneous-usitative-when-only-it (vis.)-them (vis.; = their), though they were wont to do it

(2) VERB FORMS SUBORDINATED BY POSTPOSITIONS. A less important group of verb subordinates is of local significance. These are formed by suffixing to the verb, in a manner analogous to subordinate forms already discussed (see 1 above), certain nominal postpositions. Examples have been found of verbal local subordinates in *-pa-* (participialized *-pa-nŋi-*, § 50, 4, 38; and in compounded forms: *-pa-ntuŋwa-*, § 50, 4, 38; *-pa-yu-*, § 50, 4, 38); *-va-* (§ 50, 4, 37); and apparently *-yu-n'ia-* (§ 50, 4, 49). Doubtless several other postpositions may be used to make subordinate clauses of local reference.

(3) PRESENT FORMS AS LOOSE SUBORDINATES. Now and then a verb form in present *-yī-* (§ 32, 1) occurs as a sort of loosely employed subordinate to a preceding verb, not necessarily of the same tense. Examples are:

piy'a-ŋa ma'ip-ŋya t(y)ä'n-uyŋaq-A heart-obj.-his (vis.) find-past
 this-at (§ 50, 4, 1)-present-it (vis.), found his heart (that) it is
 present there, found his heart right there
qatcu qa'va-ŋwa' pa'a'n-i' not sing-will-negative high-present, will
 not sing (it) is loud, will not sing loud

(4) SYNTACTIC USE OF PARTICIPLES. Participles are extremely in evidence in Paiute. They are employed in a variety of syntactic ways:

(a) Attributively, when they may often be translated as relative clauses or as adjectives.

(b) Denominatively, e. g. *to'ŋwanti* FIGHTING > FIGHTER, secondarily HAVASUPAI INDIAN; *uv'a'nt ari* THERE-BEING IT, THE THING THAT IS THERE.

(c) Adverbially, particularly with verbalized postpositional forms, e. g. *tümpw'a-ŋ 'ava-ntiA pñu'k-a'* ROCK-OBJ.- HE (VIS). IT-AT-BEING-OBJ. LOOK, i. e. HE LOOKS THERE AT THE ROCK rather than HE SEES THE ROCK THAT IS THERE.

(d) Predicatively after verbs, particularly substantive verbs, e. g. *'iic aro'amü ayan an-i'ntci* THIS (INAN.) IS-USITATIVE HOW DOING? HOW DOES IT WORK? *qatcu an-uk- ŋwa'ŋw'ait-i'* NOT DOES RAINING (NEG.), IT DOES NOT RAIN.

(e) In lieu of finite verbs, particularly after independent personal pronouns. Such participles may be considered as special cases of predicative usages (d), the substantive verb being omitted. They refer to general time as a rule. Examples are:

a'imintimĩ say-usitative-participle-plural, (those) wont to say, (they) always say
nĩ' to'ŋwanti I fighting, I am a fighter
i'mi cü'xaxwa'f-uim-ntini thou squaw-bush-get-go-causative-usitative-participle-me, you always cause me to go to get squaw-bush twigs

(5) SYNTACTIC USE OF ADJECTIVES. Practically all adjectives are properly verbal in form. As such, they may be predicatively employed, like any verb; or, in participial form, attributively or denominatively (e.g. *a't-i tɔɔ'q-wtci* GOOD-BEING RUNNING, GOOD RUNNER). They may also be employed, in their bare stem-form, as the first, rarely second, elements of noun compounds (see § 18, 1, d and e).

A few adjectives are properly nominal in form, e. g. *ma'p-üs-*

SMALL; *ı'tümpı* OLD. An independent adjective may be used attributively to refer to an incorporated noun, e. g.:

ma''pütsıA wana'RUPüya' little-obj. net-make-past, made a little net

§ 56. *Substantive verbs.*

(1) FORMATION OF SUBSTANTIVE VERBS. Substantive verbs are formed from the demonstrative stems *a-* and *u-* by means of a verbalizing *-ro'a-*: *aro'a-* TO BE (vis.), *uru'a-* TO BE (inv.). These forms may be used with all nouns, animate or inanimate, and independent pronouns. These simple forms are also used as the nucleus of a set of substantive verbs of specific pronominal reference, composed of the pronouns *uŋwa-* HE, *um-ı-* THEY, and *uru-* IT, to which are respectively appended (not phonetically suffixed) *aro'a-* for the visible, *uru'a-* for the invisible, forms. It is remarkable that the *u-* pronouns, which are properly invisible, should be used in visible substantive verbs as well, visibility and invisibility being expressed by the *a-* or *u-* of the verb proper. The pronominal substantive verbs thus are:

uŋw aro'a- he is (vis.)

uŋ uru'a- he is (inv.)

um^w aro'a- they are (vis.)

um uru'a- they are (inv.)

ur aro'a- it is (vis.)

ur uru'a- it is (inv.)

These may be conveniently written as single words, e. g. *uraro'a-* IT IS (vis.). The present tense of substantive verbs is designated either by the normal *-yı-* (§ 32, 1) or, more frequently, by the absence of a tense suffix. The substantive verb may also take on other tense suffixes, the modal *-rı-* (§ 33, 2), the usitative suffixes (§ 30, 10 and 11), the participial *-rı-*, and the nominal abstract *-n-a-* (§ 25, 3).

(2) USE OF SUBSTANTIVE VERBS.

(a) In perhaps the majority of cases the substantive verb follows and is phonetically disconnected from its predicate noun or subject; an adverb, however, may precede and the predicate noun follow the verb. In these cases the final vowel of the word preceding the substantive verb is elided. Examples are:

cina'ŋwaŋ aru''a coyote it-is

ı'te aro''amı' qa'teŋ quna''ap.A this (inan.) be-usitative not fire-negative, this (that we have been burning) is not fire

qate aro''a fıŋw'a'tsı'ap.A not it-is wolf-negative, it is not Wolf

imi'aru' aru' aru' ana thee (= thy)-interrogative it-is being (= property), does it belong to thee?

aro'ap'rya' (it) was

ayai aro'avi i'mi p'ini'k'ai'k'anti whom be-would thou having-seen?

I wonder whom you saw?

nari'yiv'iyantim' aru'an'imp'ya' reciprocal-friend-being-plural he (inv.)-usitative-past, (they) were always friends to each other

axav oru'avi uni'n'nintci what-at be (inv.)-would do-continuative-participle? where would (he) be doing? I wonder where (he) is!

axav oru'avi uru'ari what-at be-would being? I wonder where it is!
a'xawantci'antiaq' uqwaru'a having-hidden-it (vis.) he-is, he must have hidden it

puaxant uwaru'a medicine-man he-is

tio'is'ampa-η uquru'ai' very-only-he (vis.) he-is (inv.)-present, truly he is

n'i'nu 'um'aru' niqwi'ntsuywini me (= my) they-are person-plural-my, they are my persons

pa'qa'ηuti'p'iyantim umuru'a kill-passive-past-participle-plural they-are (inv.), they are having been killed, they must have been killed

uqwa'iac uraru' aru'ana him (inv.; = his) it-is being (= property), it is his

'a'(i)yuxv'p' ururu'ai' good-irrealis-past passive partic. it-is (inv.)-present, it would be good

(b) A second method of employing substantive verbs is to attach them to the preceding predicate noun or subject (noun or independent pronoun), a glottal stop separating the *a-* or *u-* of the substantive verb from the preceding final vowel, which is preserved; e. g. *itci' 'aru'a-* THIS (INAN.) IS beside *'itc aru'a-*. Perhaps such forms as *itci' 'aru'a-* may be considered as verbs with incorporated nominal (or pronominal) subject (§ 18, 2, f, e); e. g. *itci' 'aru'a-, cinaywani' uqwaro'a-*. Forms of this type are obligatory for independent pronouns of the first and second persons. Examples are:

sari'itci dro'a dog it-is

na'a'ints-tsi' aru'a little-girl it-is (absolute: *na'a'intsits-*)

imi' 'aru' 'm'a'niqaiwā-nli thou art thus-resultative-future-participle, you'll be continuing in that way

iqa' 'aro'a ni'ni' she-here is me (= my), this is my (wife)

itci' 'aru'om'i' this (inan.) is-usitative, this really is (your dead relatives' brains)

m^wa'ri dru^a that (inan. vis.) is (how I move about)
wa'n-arixiv^y 'uwaru' tam two-reciprocal-friend he (i. e. they 2)-
 are we 2 (inclus.), we 2 are friends (-*v^y* assimilated to *u-* from -*vⁱ*),
 thus confirming above hypothesis of composition; note also use of
 third personal pronominal substantive verb with first personal
 pronoun, suggesting that pronominal substantive verbs define
 number and animate *versus* inanimate, but not person)
nana'rixivuv^y 'uwaru' m^wa'mi plural reciprocal-friends he (= they)-
 are they (vis.), they are friends (-*vuv^y* *u^w* < -*vuv^y* *u^w* < -*vⁱ* *u^w* <
u^w < *u^w* < *u^w* < *u^w* < *u^w* < *u^w* < *u^w* < *u^w* < *u^w* < *u^w* <
u^w < *u^w* < *u^w* < *u^w* < *u^w* < *u^w* < *u^w* < *u^w* < *u^w* <
 dissimilation," cf. § 42, 5)
cina'gwan^y u^ywaro^a it was Coyote
narⁱ'ywi-napu^a u^ywaru^a powerful he-is (absolute: *narⁱ'ywi-n-apⁱ*)

(c) The idea of BEING OF, BELONGING TO is normally expressed, as illustrated above in several examples, by preceding the substantive verb with an objective form of genitive significance, e. g.:

niⁱ'niaru^a aro^a aro^a ana me-interrogative is being, is it being of me?
 is it my property?
niⁱ'ni 'uwaru^a me he-is, he is mine
imi^a 'uraru^a (aru^a ana) thee it-is (being), it is yours

By a curious idiom, however, the logical owner is sometimes put in the subjective, the thing owned in the objective, as though the substantive verb were to be translated directly as TO OWN, e. g.:

utci'an aro^a ai^a this (inan.)-obj.-I be- present, this is mine, I own this
 (literally, apparently, I AM OF THIS)
taywa^a 'aro^a amⁱ qa'teu quna^a ap^a ai^a taywa^a i arⁱ we (inclus.) be-
 usitative not fire-negative-objective us (inclus.; = our) it (sub-
 jective); we own not (real) fire, the (fire that is) ours (literally,
 apparently, WE ARE OF UNREAL FIRE; note that *taywa^a i arⁱ*, though
 logically in apposition with objective *quna^a ap^a ai^a*, is subjective
 in form)

(3) USE OF INANIMATE PRONOUNS IN LIEU OF SUBSTANTIVE VERBS.
 There are commonly used constructions in Paiute that are analogous to such English locutions as IT IS I WHO — with predicate pronoun, except that there is no substantive verb expressed, the IT doing service for it. The pronominal form for IT employed in Paiute is the inanimate visible enclitic, -*aq^a*. It is regularly preceded, it would seem, by enclitic -*a*, -*a* (§ 19, 3, a). There is always a

strong emphasis on the independent pronoun to which the *-aq-a-* is attached. Examples are:

- nī'a-q' 'əai'* I-a- it (vis.), it is I (for 'əai' see § 60, 3)
imi'ni(y)a-q' uc-U thou-like-it, maybe it is you (*-na-q'* probably < *-na-a-aq-a-*; for *uc-U* see § 60, 3)
m^wα'ηa-q'A, m^wαη'a'q'A that one it is, it is he (vis.)
m^wαη'a'q'A nī'ni pīnī'k' ai'k'ainA that (vis.) -'a- it (vis.) me (= my) see-perfective-verbal noun, it is he whom I saw, that's the man I saw
itci'a-q'A nī'ni pīw'a qari'n-anī this (inan.) -a- it (vis.) me (= my) which-at staying-my, this is where I stay
w'u'ri'a-q'A pīw'a'nfim^wanaywan an'i'p'ini that (inv.)-'a- it (vis.) which-at-being-from-my do-past passive partic.-my, that is where-from my having been done, that is where I am from

Somewhat similar to these constructions is the explanatory use of *m^wa'ri-* THAT (inan. vis.), equivalent to THAT IS WHY —, e. g.:

- m^war 'a'iv^way ur tō'ca'p'a(i)ya'tsuaηA* that now-he (vis.) it (inv.) white-breasted-he (vis.), that is the (why) now he (is termed) "white-breasted" (note that *ur* serves as article pronoun to 'a'iv^wayA *tō'ca'p'a(i)ya'tsuaηA*)

§ 57. NEGATION.

Negative forms are generally preceded by the negative adverb *qatcu-*, less often *qa*. The latter, though closely attached to the following word, is not a prefix, as shown by the unaffected phonetic treatment of the negated word, e. g.:

- nī' qa qari'ηwa'o* I not stay-negative, I was absent
mam'u'c-U qa yura'φa^wqay'wai'timī they are unconquerable
qatcu- is evidently compounded of *qa* and an element *-tcu-* which clearly goes back to spirantized *-tu-* (cf. usitative participle *-vatci-* < *-va-ti-*, § 25, 6, c; and postpositions in *-pa-te* . . . < *-pa-t* . . ., § 50, 4, 37); this is proven by comparative evidence, cf. Mono *gadu*, *garu* NOT. The noun, independent pronoun, or verb that is negated is provided with a negative suffix or negative modification of a verbalizing suffix. All such negative elements contain a glottal stop. Somewhat infrequently, negative forms are found unpreceded by a negative adverb.

(1) NEGATED NOUNS AND PRONOUNS. All nouns and independent pronouns, including nominal derivatives of verbs (e. g. past passive participles in *-p-i-*, agentives in *-vi-*, and even gerunds in

-tsu-), take as negative suffix -'ap-a- (-a'ap-a-, -dp-a-). Negative usitative participles (cf. § 25, 6, c) end in -'ap'atcī-; for negative forms of ordinary active participles in -ñ-, see 2, b below. This suffix precedes objective -ya-. Examples are:

qatc aro''a fiw'a'tsua'ap'A not it-is wolf-negative, it is not Wolf

qanu''ap'A house-negative, not a (real) house

qatc ñna'mpütsuap'ai' not badger-negative-obj., not a badger (obj.)

qatc 'a't'ñnənc:ipī'ap'A not good-dream-past passive partic.-negative, what has not been well dreamt, not a good dream

qatc 'a't'ñnənc:wi'ap'A not a good dreamer

qatc 'a't'ñnənc:itsi'ap'A not good-dream-gerund-negative, not having dreamt well

qatcu''uñwə i'v'vā' pī'tcīdap'atcī not-he (inv.) here arrive-negative-usitative participle, he is not wont to arrive here

qatc imi''ap'A not thou-negative, it is not you

(2) NEGATED VERBS. Several negative elements are used.

(a) *Absolute negatives in -'ap-a-*. The absolute (tenseless) verb is negated precisely like a noun, e. g.:

imi'ntcañA qa p'A²qa'ñuap'A thou-preterit-him (vis.) not kill-negative, you did not kill him

qatcu'ni qā'ñ'i(y)ap'anī not-me bite-negative-me, do not bite me!

(b) *Non-absolute negatives in -ñwa'ai-*. The form in -ñwa'ai- without specific tense element functions as a negative present, e. g.:

nā' qatcu'añA qa-'t-ñiñwa'a I not-him (vis.) sing.-cause-negative, I do not let him sing

The future negative suffixes -ñwa'ai- to -va- (§ 32, 4), e. g.:

qatcun ñni'ava-ñwa'aiñī not-me tell-future-negative-me, do not tell on me

The -va-n-ia- future (§ 32, 5) inserts the negative suffix between -va- and -n-ia-, hence -va-ñwa'aiñ-ia-. A somewhat puzzling form in -va-n-ñwa'ai(n-ia)- also occurs. Examples are:

qatcu'A²qa'ñA pñi'ñk'aiva'ñwain'i' he (vis.) will not see it (vis.)

qatcu'añ 'a't'ñnənc:va-n-ñwa'aiñ'i' he (vis.) will not dream well

qatcu'añ 'a't'ñnənc:va-n-ñwa'a he (vis.) will not dream well (stated as prediction)

The negative active participle ends in *-ŋwa'aii-ĩ*, e. g.:

qa nɔnɔ'c:ɣwai'ti not dreaming
qatc' a'(i)yɣwai'timĩ not one who is good (among) several

The negative correspondent of subordinating *-kai-* (§ 55, 1, b) is *-ŋwa'ai-yu-* (§ 55, 1, c), e. g.:

na'nuɣ'waiyucampa-ŋa nĩru'xWA without saying anything, (give) him (vis.) to me

In certain forms *-ŋwa'ai-* is replaced by two-moraed *-ŋwa'a-*. The negative form of subordinating *-ku-* (§ 55, 1, e) is *-ŋwa'q-u-*, e. g.:

tĩ'qa'q:ɣwə'q'uc:amparaŋWA eat-plural-negative-while-only-we (inclus.), while we are not eating

There are absolute verb forms in *-ŋwa'ap-a-*, a suffix apparently combining *-ŋwa'a(i)-* and *-ap-a-* (see a). It is not evident how they differ, if at all, from ordinary negative absolutes in *-ap-a-*. Examples are:

qatcu'tca-mĩ paa'iyɣwə'ap-acU not-preterit-they (vis.) countable
 (?)negative-again, they were many in number (*paiyɔ-* is only used as negative verb; cf. *qatcu'raŋWA paa'iyɣwə'aic-U* we (inclus.) are many)

Forms in *-ŋwa'ap-a-vi-* seem to be agentives of negative absolutes in *-ŋwa'ap-a-* (but cf. negated agentives in *-vi'ap-a-*, 1 above), e. g.:

nĩ' qatc ampa'x:Atuiŋwə'ap-aφi I not talk-cause-negative-agentive, I (am) one who causes not to talk, I do not allow to talk

(c) *Negative forms of verbalizing -kai-*. The verbalizing suffixes *-kai-* TO BE and *-kai-* TO HAVE (see § 26, 1, a and b) become *-ai-* in the negative. This *-ai-* takes the place of any specifically negative suffix.

Examples are:

<i>atci'ya'</i> has a bow	<i>qa'tc atci''a'</i> has not a bow
<i>a'a'ŋavĩyaip-i'ya'</i> had arms	<i>a'a'ŋavĩdip-i'a'</i> had no arms
<i>taŋwa'ŋqaiwa-nĩ</i> being about to have teeth	<i>qa'tcu taŋwa'aiva-nĩ</i> not going to have teeth
<i>nĩŋwĩ'a'ya'</i> (it) has a person, a person is there	<i>nĩŋwĩ'a''a</i> (< <i>-a-a'</i>) no person is there

pa'γaivātci wont to be water

qatcu'ru'a'q' i'i'vā' pa'a'avātci
not-interrogative-it (vis.) here
water-be not-usitative-parti-
ciple, is there not wont to be
water here?

The negative participle corresponding to positive *-kanfi-* BEING, HAVING (§ 26, 1, a and b) is *-ait-i-*, e. g.:

naŋqa'vayantī having ears

quna'q'aŋantīmī having fire (plur.)

naŋqa'va'ait-i earless

qa'tcu quna'i'niŋ-ait-īmī not fire-
owned-plural subject-not have-
participle-plural, not having
fire (plur.)

As we have already seen (§ 32, 6), narrative past *-p-iyai-* is compounded of past passive participle *-p-i-* and *-yai-* TO HAVE. Its negative correspondent is therefore *-p-i-ai-*; *-yai-p-iyai-* HAD —, WAS — is doubly negated to *-ai-p-i-ai-*. The negative correspondent of participial *-p-iyanti-* (§ 25, 6, e) is *-p-i-ait-i-*. Examples are:

qari'p-iyā' sat

pīni'k'ai-p-iyā'aik-wA saw it
(inv.)

nī'ci'm-wi'ap-iyantī having ever
let go of any one

qa'tcu qari'p-ia'a did not sit

qa'tcu pīni'k'ai-p-i'aik-wA did
not see it

qa'tcu nī'ci'm-wi'ap-ia'it-i having
never let go of any one

The negative verbalizing *-ai-* appears as *-a-*, *-a'-* before subordinating *-q-u-*; *-a'q-u-* WHEN HAS NOT, WHEN IS NOT thus corresponds to positive *-kaiyu-*, e. g.:

ci'naŋwaw(y)a'q-ut-uac-ampa coyote (distributively)-not be-when-impersonal-only, though others were not coyote-like

(d) Negatives in *-n-a'ai-*. A few verbs, chiefly verbs of sight, use *-n-a'ai-* as negative suffix instead of the normal *-ŋwa'ai-* (b above); participialized, *-n-a'ait-i-*. Unlike *-ŋwa'ai-*, however, *-n-a'ai-* precedes future *-va-* and is followed by narrative *-p-iyai-*.

nī' pīni't-uina'-a I see-cause-negative, I do not let (him) see

maŋa'c-uaqA qa pīni'n-a'a he-it (vis.) not see-negative, he does not
see it (but: *maŋa'c-uaqA qa pīni'k'ai-ŋwa'a* he does not look at it)

pīni'n-a'aiyu while not seeing

qatcu''uq-wA pīni'n-a'ai-p-iyā' not-it (inv.) (he) saw

qatcu''q-wa''mī sotsi'n'naiva'aq-wamī not-it (inv.)-dual peep-negative-future-it (inv.)-dual, (you) 2 shall not peep at it

-ric'u'ai-n'a'ai- to pay no attention to (see § 50, 4, 29)

qatcu'ay 'a't'inonoc-in-a''a not-he (vis.) good-dream-negative, (I guess) he didn't dream well (but also: *qatcun 'a't'in-on-oc-iywa''a* not-I well-dream)

m''a'ya-q-a maai'in-in-adit-i that one it (is) who has not been touched

(e) *Negative participle in -n'u(w)a'ait-i-*. This form is perhaps the negative participle corresponding to usitative *-n-i''* (§ 30, 11), e. g.: *qatcu na'a'in-u(w)a'ait-i* never having burned.

§ 58. REDUPLICATION.

Numerous reduplicated forms have already been quoted in the course of this paper. The process is freely used both in nouns and, especially, in verbs. It is frequently accompanied by glottalization or consonantal gemination or both. The reduplication is practically always initial; only a few cases of morphologically non-significant final reduplication occur. An initial vowel (v) reduplicates to v'v'-' (''v'-, 'v'-). If the word begins with a consonant + vowel (cv), the reduplication includes both (cv'-, rarely cv'-'). A stem, however, that has a nasal consonant following initial stopped or affricative consonant + vowel (cvc'') includes the nasal in the reduplication (cv-''); the nasal of the reduplicating syllable is assimilated, if necessary, to the first consonant of the stem. The consonant following a reduplicating cv- may be either spirantized or geminated, according to type. Verbs and nouns with reflexive prefix *na-* reduplicate the *na-*, not the stem; verbs with instrumental prefixes reduplicate the prefix, not the stem (e. g. verbs in *ta-''* WITH THE FOOT reduplicate to *ta'ta''-''*). In the following, examples of reduplication are classified as to function, secondarily as to phonetic type.

(1) **CONSTANTLY REDUPLICATED NOUNS.** A small number of nouns occurs only in reduplicated form. The reduplication seems to have no morphological significance. Reduplicating types cv-'' and cv-'' both occur. Examples are:

qa''qa''RA quail

tu'tu'yuafi supernatural helper

mam-a''uts woman; *mam-a''a'cayw(o)its* old woman

tanta'gwavi- man's brother-in-law

pūmp'i'n'naavi'yaip-i toad

ɔvi'-mpimpin-araApütsi-ɣwĩ last, youngest of all (reduplication probably has distributive function)

pumpĩ'ni bucket (reduplicating vowel different from that of stem)

An example of reduplicating *cv*-ⁿ in the case of a stem without internal nasal is *pompö'tsats* LIZARD (var.).

(2) DISTRIBUTIVE REDUPLICATION IN NOUNS. Distributive forms of nouns are quite frequent. They are not true plurals, though sometimes, particularly in the case of animate nouns, practically equivalent to such. A distributively conceived noun is practically always logically plural at the same time, but need not be.

(a) Type *v'v*-:

iŋa''p-its baby
aŋavi- arm

ĩĩ(·)'ŋap-itsiŋwĩ babies
a'a'ŋaviχaip-ĩŋa' each had an arm

(b) Type *cv*-^s:

po' trail
pia- mother
piŋwa- wife

poŋo' trails
pivi'araŋwa our (inclus.) mothers
pivi'ŋwa-mĩ their (vis.) wives

(c) Type *cv*-^u:¹

pa'tca'raŋwa our (inclus.) shoe(s)

pa'pa'tcaraŋwa our shoes (one pair to each)

patsi- older sister

pa'pa'tsiamĩ their (vis.) older sister

tötsi''ait-ĩ headless

tö'tö'tsi'ait-ĩmĩ each having no head, headless people

wiŋĩ- vulva

wiwi'xiA vulvas (obj.)

yu'u- leg

yuyu''uχwaip-ĩŋa' each had a leg

naŋwa- tracks

nan-a'ŋwaraŋwa our (inclus.) tracks

moa- father

mom-q'a(i)ya(u)phi (their) own fathers (obj.)

(d) Type *cv*-ⁿ:

¹ In the case of stems beginning with *w*, *y*, and *n* there is no possibility of distinguishing spirantizing and geminating reduplication. Such examples will be arbitrarily considered as coming under geminating reduplication. Stems beginning with *s*, *c*, generally also *m*, have geminating reduplication.

<i>punqu'hwirawA</i> our (inclus.) horses (owned collectively)	<i>pumpu'quhwirawA</i> our horses (one or more owned individually by each one of us)
<i>qa'ni</i> house	<i>qanqa'ni</i> houses

(3) DISTRIBUTIVE REDUPLICATION IN VERBS. Distributive activity nearly always involves plurality of subject in transitive or intransitive verbs or of object in transitive verbs. Hence the distributive form of the verb is frequently enough the practical equivalent of a plural verb. Certain verbs, indeed, consistently use the distributive form instead of one with pluralizing *-q-a-* (§ 31, 1, c); e. g. *pimpi'n'izkai-* SEVERAL LOOK AT, not **pini'k-ai-k-a-*.

(a) Type *v'-v-*:

<i>u'hwai-</i> to hang	<i>u'u'hwai'yiq'wA</i> hangs them (in- an.) all
<i>im'wi-</i> several arrive	<i>ii'm'miip'iyā'</i> (they) arrived each by himself

(b) Type *cv-^s*:

<i>quwi-</i> to take one object	<i>quwiwii-</i> several take one object
<i>tea'a'ip'iyā'</i> took hold of	<i>teate'a'i'p'iyaiami</i> they (vis.) each took hold of

(c) Type *cv-^g* (most frequent type of distributive verb):

<i>tava'c-up-i</i> dry (past passive participle)	<i>ta'ta'φacup-i</i> all dry
<i>mu'qu'ntai'</i> is straight	<i>mumu'q'untai'</i> several are straight
<i>pa'qa'qu</i> to kill one person	<i>pa'pa'q'ayu</i> several kill one
<i>sa'ηgai'</i> (it) is unripe	<i>sa'sa'ηgai'</i> several things are un- ripe
<i>to'qwa'ai'</i> patches one	<i>to'to'q-wa-'ai'</i> patches several
<i>na'a'ip'iyā'</i> fire was burning	<i>nan-a'ip'iyā'</i> there were fires burning

(d) Type *cv-^g*:

<i>qa'ivayanti</i> having a mountain	<i>qa'q'ayayanti</i> having mountains, mountainous country
<i>pa'</i> spring	<i>pa'p'a-yanti</i> spring (distribu- tively)-having, places with springs

(e) Type cv-^g . . . ' . . . :*wūn'ai-* to throw down*wūwī'n'nai p'īyāi(y)āyā* (they)
threw him (vis.) down*pa(i)yi-* to return*pā'pā'(i)yi'p'īyā'* all returned(f) Type cv-ⁿ:*pūṇquywai-* to have a horse*pūmpu'q'uṇwa'* (dissimilated
from *pūmpu'ṇqu-*) each has
horses(g) Type cv-ⁿ . . . ' . . . :*pūnīk'ai-* to look at*pūmpī'n'īzka'* several look at*tōnā'i'* stabs*tōntō'n'āzqai'* several stab(h) Type cv-ⁿ . . . ' . . . ^g . . . :*pan'āyā-* several go home*pāmpa'n'āzqai'* (they) go home
in parties; *pāmpa'n'na·q·āqwa'-*
ai- to go home, each group by
itself

(4) ITERATIVE REDUPLICATION IN VERBS. Iterative verbs, i. e. verbs indicating the repetition of an action, are reduplicated in a manner very similar to distributive verbs, though the iterative is to be considered as a form distinct from the distributive. In some cases the iterative and the distributive are phonetically identical, in others there is some difference of form. On the whole, stem gemination and glottalization tend to be more frequent in iteratives than in distributives; contrast, e. g.: *qwi'γwī'z-* SEVERAL TAKE ONE OBJECT (< *qwi-*) with *qwi'qwi'z-* TO TAKE ONE OBJECT SEVERAL TIMES.

(a) Type v'v . . . (^g) . . . (. . . ' . . . may appear instead of . . . ^g . . .):

iwi- to drink*i'ip'i'* drinks repeatedly, sips*ampa'γai'* talks*a'a'mpāzqai'* talks repeatedly*uṇwī'* smells*u'u'qwi'* smells several times,
sniffs around*u'cu'q'wi'* whistles*u'u'c'uqwi'* whistles several
times*orō'ṇwī'* roars*ō'ō'rō'ṇwī'* roars several times*ā'fī'x-i* to nurse*ā't'ix-i* to nurse several times

(b) *Type* cv-^s:

<i>tavin'na-</i> to put out one's breast, to strut	<i>tara'vna'na-ai'</i> keeps putting out (his) breast
<i>papwai-</i> to yell	<i>papa'wvai-</i> to yell several times
<i>pi'pi't-a'ni'</i> vomits (momentane- ous reduplication; see 5, c)	<i>pivi'ztan'ni'</i> vomits several times
<i>twɔ'q-wi'</i> runs	<i>twɔ'z-ɔqwi'</i> runs several times

(c) *Type* cv-^g:

<i>tA'pu'q-wi'</i> jumps	<i>tA'ta'p-Uqwi'</i> keeps jumping, skips
<i>qu'qwi'</i> shoots	<i>qu'qo'q-wi'</i> shoots several times
<i>tī'qa'i'</i> eats	<i>tī'tī'q-ai'</i> eats several times
<i>wi'w'i'</i> dances	<i>wiwi'wi'</i> dances repeatedly
<i>nu'qwi'p-i'ya'</i> ran	<i>non-u'q-wip-i'ya'</i> kept running, ran time after time
<i>sɔva'i'</i> whittles	<i>s-si'vai'</i> whittles many times
<i>kwi'p-A</i> to hit	<i>kwi'kwi'p-A</i> to hit several times
<i>yu'mu'q-wi'</i> starts (on being startled)	<i>yuyu'm-MU^gqwi'</i> starts several times

(d) *Type* cv-^g . . . ^g . . . :

<i>tiv'w'i'n-aya'i'</i> leads	<i>tī'tī'p-inag-ai'</i> leads away several times
<i>naɣa'riŋqī</i> to dodge (durative); <i>naɣa'tiŋqī</i> (momentaneous)	<i>nana'q-Aŋqī</i> to dodge one time after another

(e) *Type* cv-^g . . . ' . . . :

<i>qa'i'</i> sings	<i>qa^gqa''ai'</i> sings repeatedly
<i>maɣwa'vai'</i> creeps	<i>mam'ma'wvavai'</i> creeps in starts
<i>naɣa'm-i'</i> is sick	<i>nan-a'xa'mi'</i> is sick several times
<i>tua'i'</i> gives birth	<i>tu'tu'ai'</i> gives birth several times
<i>teA'qo'itcai'</i> takes off clothes	<i>teA'tea'q-oitcai'</i> takes clothes off several times
<i>qwi'i'</i> takes one object	<i>qwi'qwi'wi'</i> takes one object sev- eral times

(f) *Type* cv- . . . ' . . . ^g . . . (types d and e combined):

yaya'i' cries
nintci'γai' (it) shakes

ya(i)'ya'q'ai' cries several times
nün'ntciq(ε)i' (it) shakes several times

(g) Type *cv*ⁿ . . . ' . . . :

pün-i- to see, look
tən-a- to stab
fini'a- to tell
pon-a- to stoop and stick out
 one's buttocks

pūmpü'n'ni' looks repeatedly
təntə'n'nai' stabs several times
finfi'n'iai' tells several times
pōmpō'n'na.i' stoops several
 times sticking out (his) but-
 tocks

(5) MOMENTANEOUS REDUPLICATION IN VERBS. A considerable number of verbs form their momentaneous (or inceptive) form (see § 30, 3-8) by reduplication. Momentaneous reduplication differs radically from distributive and iterative reduplication in that there is no accompanying stem gemination or glottalization. There is a certain amount of overlapping of forms (e. g. *tī'ti'q-a-* TO EAT SEVERAL TIMES; TO START TO EAT), but, on the whole, reduplicated momentaneous forms are sharply distinguished from corresponding reduplicated distributives and iteratives, e. g. *qa'qa'ri-* TO SETTLE DOWN (< *qari-* TO SIT): *qa'qa'ti-* TO SIT SEVERAL TIMES; *qaya-* TO START OFF SINGING (< *-qa-* TO SING): *qa'qa''a-* TO SING SEVERAL TIMES; *a'a'vi-* TO BEGIN LYING DOWN (< *avi-* TO LIE): *a'a'p-i-* TO LIE SEVERAL TIMES; *yaya'ya-* TO BURST OUT CRYING (< *yaya-* TO CRY): *ya'ya'q-a-* TO CRY SEVERAL TIMES.

(a) Type *v'v*^s:

avi- to lie down

a'a'φi to begin lying down

This type does not seem to be freely used. Thus, *ivi-* TO DRINK forms no momentaneous (or inceptive) **i'i'vi-*; *iviqu-* is the appropriate form (§ 30, 5).

(b) Type *cv*^s:

qa- to sing

qaya'- to sing (momentaneously),
 to start in singing; *qaya'tea-ηa*
 he (vis.) finished singing

kieηqi- to laugh
paγ(a)i- to walk
pai- to call

kiγi'εηqi- to start in laughing
pava'γ(a)i- to start to walk
pava'i- to call (momentaneously)

(c) Type *cv*^s:

tīq-a- to eat
pitci'- to arrive

nüntcīya- to shake
qarī- to sit
yaya- to cry

yɔɔ- to copulate with

yuywi- several are seated
wīn-i- to stand, be standing

(d) *Type cvⁿ:*

tīn-ia- to tell

tī'tī'q-a- to eat up, to start to eat
pi'pi'tci-, pi'tci- (§ 10, 3) to arrive
 (momentaneously)

nūn-i'ntcīya- to start in shaking
qA'qa'rī- to sit down, settle
yaya'ya- to begin crying, burst
 into tears

yɔɔ'ɔɔ- to copulate with (momentaneously)

yuyu'γwi- several sit down
wīwī'n-i- to stand up

tīntī'n-ia- to tell on; *tīntī'n-iaŋqī-*
 to tell to (momentaneously)

(6) FINAL REDUPLICATION. This type of reduplication is very uncommon in Paiute. It is confined to a small number of verbs, in part onomatopoeic. Sometimes an *-i-* follows. Such are:

pa'-sɔ'rɔɔci-tci waterfall (participle of verb with incorporated *pa-*
 WATER)

tūmp^wi'-s-iɔavai-tci precipice (participle of verb with incorporated
tūmp^wi- ROCK)

cu'rur'u-, cu'r'uru- to make a noise as of an object whirling down
qī'rīrī- to sound like a hard object played over a toothed or notched
 surface

qwinu'n'nu- to turn around

ta-ya'nunu-ŋqī- to have one's feet dangling

§ 59. NUMERALS.

(1) NUMERAL STEMS PROPER. The numerals of Paiute are:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>cv-</i> | 9. <i>cu(w)a'rɔɔm.A'cūŋwi-</i> |
| 2. <i>wa-</i> | 10. <i>tɔɔ'm.A'cūŋwi-</i> |
| 3. <i>pai-</i> | 20. <i>wa'm.A'cūŋwi-</i> |
| 4. <i>wA'tcū'ŋwi-</i> | 30. <i>pa'im.A'cūŋwi-</i> |
| 5. <i>man'i'γi-</i> | 40. <i>wA'tcū'ŋwiMA'cūŋwi-</i> |
| 6. <i>nava'i-</i> | 50. <i>manu'γiMA'cūŋwi-</i> |
| 7. <i>nava'ikavai-</i> | 60. <i>nava'im.A'cūŋwi-</i> |
| 8. <i>wa'a'ŋwA'cūŋwi-</i> | 100. <i>cv'yutɔɔm.A'cūŋwi-</i> |

The stem *cv-*, in its meaning of ONE, is generally provided with an enclitic *-c-u-* (§ 19, 2, k), e. g.:

cv'yuc-U one (cardinal attributive); objective *cv'q-uc-U*
cv't-ac-U once
cv'yuyuc-U to become one
cv'it-uywanuma, *cv'it-uywanum-ac-U* for one night
cv'yun-i' one (in counting)

Without enclitic *-c-u-*, *cv-* is often used to mean OTHER, THE OTHER, e. g.:

co'yU other; *cv'y aŋA* other he (vis.), another one; *cv'(i)y aŋi* other it, another (thing); *cv'yucinaŋwaŋ aŋA* other-coyote he (vis.), the other coyote
co'q-una other one (apparently *co-* + objective *-q-u-* + verbal noun suffix *-n-a-*); *co'q-un aŋA* the other one
co'q-U again, once more
co'v-anli the other; *co'v-anlimi* the others (anim.)

Only 1, 2, and 3 seem to be primary numeral stems. 4 is probably based on 2, *wa-* being reduced to *wa-*. 5 and 10 evidently contain *ma-* HAND. 6 is compounded of reciprocal *na-* (§ 22, 1) and *pai-THREE*, hence means properly DUALITY OF THREES (cf. Nahuatl *nahui* FOUR < DUALITY OF TWOS; Hopi *na-leyi* FOUR < *lei-yi* TWO, *navai* SIX < *pa-hio* THREE, *na-nal* EIGHT < *na-leyi* FOUR). 7 is clearly based on 6. 8 (*wa'a'ŋwalcüŋwi*) is somewhat irregularly reduplicated from 4 (*wa'tcu'ŋwi*). 9 is compounded of *cu(w)a-s* NEARLY (§ 20, 12) and 10. 10 is properly *MA'cü'ŋwi*, *toŋ'-* (§ 20, 15) meaning JUST, QUITE. *-c-üŋwi-* (cf. perhaps *-t-cüŋwi-* of 4) is obscure, but is probably another form for ONE (< Shoshonean **süwi* or **sümi*; cf. Shikaviyam *cewi-* ONE, Mono *ciwi*, *cimu*); *mac-üŋwi-* may thus have meant ONE PAIR OF HANDS. 20, 30, and so on up to 100, are respectively compounds of 2, 3, and so on, and ten; *-MA'cü'ŋwi-* always appears as such, instead of alternating, as would be expected, with *-ma'c-üŋwi-*. 100, rather curiously, consists of ANOTHER (*cv-yu-*) and JUST-TEN.

Cardinal and adverbial suffixes to numeral stems are discussed in § 36.

(2) EMPLOYMENT OF NUMERALS. Numerals enter into syntactic relations in one of three ways:

(a) As independent nominal forms, attributively or denominatively. Subjective forms end in *-yu-* (see § 36, 1), objectives in *-q-u-*. Examples of numerals in *-q-u-* are:

cv'q-uc v'qwi'yutsɿχaivātci one (obj.) arrow-little-have-usitative-participle, wont to have one arrow
wa'q'utcani qava'x.A two-obj.-preterit-I horse-get, I received two horses
paa'ik:ɿv three (obj.)
man'ɿχuk:U patcū'ŋwīχaipīya' five (obj.) daughters-have-past, had five daughters

(b) As first elements of noun compounds; they geminate following stopped and affricative consonants. Examples of compounded numerals are:

wa'q'imantsɿŋwī two strangers
waa'nɿ(y)a-vŋw amī the two chiefs
wa'm'a-a'caɣwɿtsɿŋwī two old women

Before vowels compounded *wa-* appears as *wa-n'-* (perhaps < *wa-* + reciprocal *na-*), e. g.:

wa'n'aip:atsɿŋwī two boys (*a'ip:ats* boy)
wa'n'aip:apūtsɿŋwī two young men (*a'ip:apūts* young man)

Before nouns indicating time (such as DAY, NIGHT, MONTH, WINTER), 1 appears as *cv-i-*; 2 as *wai-*; 3 as *pai(y)ɛ-*; 4 as *wa'tcū'ŋwiyu-* (?); 5 as *man-ɿyɿyu-*; 6 as *nava-*. These forms do not suffer vocalic unvoicing of their third mora. Examples are:

cv'it'avama one-day-on, for one day (= *cv'yuc:U tava'mA*)
cv'it:omuma one-winter-on, for one year
wa.i't'avamanu' two-day-on-like, for two days in number
pa'i(y)ɛt-wywan-uma three-night-on, for three nights
man'ɿyɿyut'avam-an'ɿ for five days in number
nava'it'avamanu' for six days in number

(c) As verbs, based on forms in *-yu-*, with or without verbalizing *-ŋgai-* (§ 26, 1, a), e. g.:

cv'yunuc:U to become one; *cv'yUqwaŋuc:U* several become one
nana'c:v-yunqwaŋyuc:U reciprocal (distributively)-one-be-subordinating-just, as (they) are one among (them)selves, one by one

waa'(i)yuŋqĩŋ'qm'wĩni two-for-become-dual-me, they 2 (have)
become two for me

(3) QUASI-NUMERALS. A number of elements that are not true numerals are related in meaning and form. These are:

(a) *man-ɔ-*, *man-u-* ALL. As subjective form is used *man-ɔ'n-ia-*, *man-u'n-ia-* (for enclitic *-n-ia-* in numeral forms see § 36, 1); as objective, *man-ɔq-u-*. Examples are:

man-ɔ'n-i(y)a(i)yaq'axa' aru'q-wA qu'n'i'ka' all-plural- (§ 52)-imperative (§ 52)-then! it-under lie; all (of you) lie under it, then!
man-ɔ'q-oaq'A pu'tcu'tcuwari all (obj.)-it (vis.) knowing, knowing it all
pa'm'anun-i quite all, every one

For *man-ɔ'q-upa(n)tcĩ-* see § 37, 2.

(b) *nan-in'na-* DIFFERENT, BOTH (inanimate), e. g.:

nan-i'n'naŋwĩtuwA to, in (2) different directions

In compounds this appears as *nan-in'naq-u-* (apparently with numeral objective *-q-u-*), also, it would seem, before certain postpositions, e. g. *-wa-* AT. Examples are:

nanu'naq-(w)ɔyaya'maq'A both (obj.)-end-on-its (vis.), at both its ends
nan-i'n'naq-ova-ŋA both (obj.)-at-his (vis.), on both sides of him

This quasi-numeral is based on *nan-i-* SEPARATELY (as adverbial prefix, § 20, 5; as independent adverb *nan-i'c-u-*, § 60, 2, d).

(c) *naŋwa'ai-* BOTH (animate); consists properly of reflexive-reciprocal stem *na-* (§ 46) and postposition *-wa'ai-* TOGETHER WITH (§ 50, 4, 11): WITH EACH OTHER. *naŋwa''q-u-* functions as independent objective and as first element of compounds. Examples are:

naŋwa''a, *naŋwa''aic-u* both (people)
naŋwa''q-uaŋa'm pa'qa'ŋupĩyai(y)aŋa'mü both (obj.)- he (vis.; = they)-them (vis.) kill (sing.-dual)-past-he (vis.; = they)-them (vis.), they 2 killed both of them
naŋwa''q-up-u'ini both (obj.)-eye-my, both my eyes; *naŋwa''q-u-pu'im'ani* with both my eyes

(d) *qĩma-s* OTHER. This stem may be either compounded (e. g. *qĩma'yanini* MY OTHER HOUSE) or used independently. In the latter

case it has pronominal forms for the subjective (see § 39, 2); a numeral form in *-q-u-* (*c-u-*) for the object, e. g.:

qīma'q'ucunī qaḡa'ʼaʼc-u other (obj.)-just-I sing (momentaneously)-will-again, I will sing also another one

§ 60. ADVERBS.

There are two main classes of independent adverbs in Paiute, those whose position is entirely free (these generally precede verbs or come first in their clause), and those which lean on (though not enclitically attached to) a preceding word. The former type is more numerous.

(1) DERIVATION OF ADVERBS. A number of adverbs are really demonstratives, e. g. *ai-* THEN; *ma'* THUS. Many others are special adverbial stems (e. g. *qa* NOT), provided, in some cases, with nominal suffixes (e. g. *ai-vʷi-* NOW, *fiʷi-ls-* VERY). Certain enclitic suffixes, particularly *-c-u-* (§ 19, 2, k) and *-n-ia-* (§ 19, 2, d), are appended to some adverbial stems, e. g. *nava-c-u-* IN VAIN; *na'a-c-u-* SEPARATELY; *fiʷi-c-ampa-* SURE ENOUGH; *fi'ḡwī-n-ia-* HURRIEDLY; *miō-n-ia-* FAR AWAY. Some adverbs contain postpositional suffixes, e. g. *fi-na'ḡqwa-* UP HITHER (cf. § 50, 4, 18); *teayī'-p-a-* NEAR (cf. § 50, 4, 37). For local adverbs in *-fiya-n-ia-*, *-toyo-n-ia-* see 2, b below.

(2) FREE ADVERBS. The adverbs of free position may be classified into temporal adverbs, local adverbs, adverbs of degree, and modal adverbs. They are employed either as true adverbs (e. g. *qī'aḡwī ya''a* YESTERDAY DIE(D)), often serving as bases for postpositional suffixes (e. g. *qwa'ut-uḡwa-* OFF-TO, THE OTHER WAY < *qwa-* OFF); or, in part, as verbs (this is particularly true of local adverbs, e. g. *fiʷa'a'im-ik-upīya'* DOWN-MOVING-INCEPTIVE-PAST, COMMENCED TO GO DOWN).

(a) Temporal adverbs:

ai- THEN, NOW (of rather indefinite temporal significance; comes first in clause as peg for enclitics; of demonstrative origin, see § 43, 5 and § 44, 2, c). It is generally followed by enclitic *-ta-* (§ 19, 1, a) even when there is no reference to past time. Examples are:

a'itcaq-wa cv'yuc-u piya''ḡw uru'a'nænī then-preterit-it (inv.) one be-left being (inv.)-my, then I have one left over
'a'iamī ti'ḡwīnu(y)a'amī ti'qa'i' then-they (vis.) quickly-dual eat-present, see how fast they 2 eat

- a'w^oi-* NOW (probably *ai-*^s NEW and nominal suffix *-vi-*, § 24, 1, b)
'i-c-u- LONG AGO (perhaps related to *i-*^s OLD)
i't'u-c-u- FORMERLY, USED TO (perhaps assimilated from *i't-i-c-u-* < *i-*^s OLD and participial *-ti-*)
i'tcuq-u- (EARLY) IN THE MORNING, Ute *wi'tcuq-u-* (< *i-*, perhaps cf. two preceding adverbs and postpositional *-tcuq-u-* relating to time, cf. *vatecuq-u-*, § 50, 4, 37)
ivä'tcia- EARLY; also locally: FAR AWAY, WAY OFF (*-vätcia-* may be objective participle of postposition *-va-* AT, § 50, 4, 37)
üt-i'-c-ampa- (*i'fi'c-ampa*, often heard *fi'c-ampa*) ALWAYS (for enclitic *-c-ampa-* see § 19, 2, j)
nar-i'v^oia- ALWAYS, CUSTOMARILY (perhaps contains reflexive *na-*)
oi't-a-vi- ANY LONGER (*qatcun oi't-a-phi* NO LONGER I —)
pina'ngwa- AFTER A WHILE, SOON (*pi-* REAR, cf. § 21, 3, and postpositional *-nanngwa-*, § 50, 4, 18)
q'i'agwi- YESTERDAY
u'v^oaiyauq-u- THEN, THEREUPON (see § 50, 4, 41; frequently used as sentence-connector in narrative)
wi't'u-c-u- LONG AGO (cf. *i't'u-c-u-* above)

(b) *Local adverbs:*

- iv^oi-* WAY, FAR (e. g. *i'phi fiw'a'* WAY DOWN WEST; perhaps misheard for *i'phi*, cf. *iva'tcia-* under a)
mi(y)ö-, *miö-n'ia-* FAR OFF, AT A DISTANCE; *mi(y)ö''tsüwa-* AT A LITTLE DISTANCE (diminutive *-tsü-*, § 35, 1; postpositional *-va-*, § 50, 4, 37);
miö'-t-iyän'ia- AT A GOOD DISTANCE
ö'ö'i'mi- ON ONE'S BELLY
ö'ö'i'min- avi' I lie on my belly
pan-a'ngwa- COMING DOWN, NORTH (probably WATERWARDS; *pa-* WATER, reduced from *pa-*; postpositional *-nanngwa-*, § 50, 4, 18). May be verbalized
pimi't-uywa- BACKWARD (< *pi-* REAR, cf. § 21, 3, and postpositional *-mit-uywa-*, § 50, 4, 13)
pit-cu'a'mi- DOWNWARD
qwaia- BEYOND, OPPOSITE (generally followed by postpositional *-ngwa-*, § 50, 4, 16)
qwanwa- (perhaps < *qwau-* off + *-a-* > **qwawa-*): *qwanwa'ntcurywa-* A LITTLE FURTHER BEYOND (postpositional *-ntcurywa-*, § 50, 4, 30)
qwau-^s OFF, AWAY; *qwa'ut-uywa-* THE OTHER WAY (postpositional *-t-uywa-*, § 50, 4, 30). May be verbalized

fi-ⁿ, *fi*([·])*i*-ⁿ UP; objective *fi*-*ngu-n-ia*- FURTHER UP; *fi*-*'nturywa*- UPWARD, NORTHWARD (postpositional *-nturywa*-, § 50, 4, 30); *fina'ngwa*- COMING UP (*fi*- reduced from *fi*-; postpositional *-nanqwa*-, § 50, 4, 18). May be verbalized; see also *turyu*-ⁿ

-fiya-n-ia- (*-təɣə-n-ia*-) local adverbializing element appended to certain adverbs or postpositional phrases (perhaps related to verb *fiyai*- TO BECOME; enclitic *-n-ia*-, § 19, 2, d), e. g.:

mava'i'tiyan-i', *mava'i'təɣən-i'* at a certain distance, way off

məw'tiyan-i' at a good distance

u'u'rainfi'an-i' close towards it

fiw'ai-ə DOWN, WEST; *tanfi'v'ai-* FAR WEST. May be verbalized

təvi'i-tsi- FOR A SHORT DISTANCE (*-tsi-* probably diminutive, § 35, 1)

turyu-ⁿ UP (evidently related to *fi*-ⁿ, see above; cf. also *turyu-mpa*-SKY): *turyu'nturywa*- UPWARD (postpositional *-nturywa*-, § 50, 4, 30)

tcay'i-p-a- NEAR (< *tcay-i-ə*, not occurring independently, and postpositional *-p-a*- AT, § 50, 4, 37)

waq(a)i'-n HITHER. May be verbalized

(c) *Adverbs of degree:*

a'iw'i-c-u- ENOUGH (probably *a'iw-i-* NOW, see a above, and enclitic *-c-u*-, § 19, 2, k)

fiw'i'-tsi- VERY (*-tsi-* probably nominal suffix, § 24, 1, f); *fiw'i'tsi-n-ia*- GREATLY; *fiw'i'ts-sampa-* REALLY, OF COURSE (enclitic *-c-ampa*-, § 19, 2, j)

(d) *Modal adverbs:*

aya-c-u- ONLY, JUST (?) adverbially used independent personal pronoun HE, § 39):

imi' 'aik: anəc: ən-w'c-uap:itcixə' thou say he early-breathe-arrive-subordinating (nearly-arrive = wake up); you say, but just waking up

'ari'k-i- ALMOST, NEARLY

impw'a'i- hortatory:

impw'a'iaŋ aiva' let-he (vis.) say-will, let him say

iya't-ia- IN VAIN, TO NO PURPOSE (probably objective participial form in *-t-ia*-)

it-i'a-n-ia- TOO BAD, UNFORTUNATELY:

i'ti'a-n-i aik:zA too bad you say, I'm sorry you say

iw-i- hortatory, *iw-i-ya-* hortatory with dual or plural subject;

iw-i'-campa-n-ia- SOMEHOW, ANY OLD WAY; *iw-i'-n-ia-* HURRY AND —! (cf. *fi'wi-n-ia-* below). Examples are:

ĩv'ĩ' *uŋwa'vatcu:waqwa'aic itcĩ'* *yaŋw'va' niŋw'ĩ'mpĩ'* hortatory-thou him (inv.)-to-go-again this (inan. obj.) carry-shall liver (obj.); go ahead! go again and bring her this liver

ĩv'ĩ'ni nĩ'm'w' iŋi'xw'aiŋumpa'amĩ' hortatory-I we (exclus.) drink-go-momentaneous-future-dual, let us two go in order to drink

ĩv'ĩ'n-i(y)a'a' fiŋu'A hortatory-like-thou tell! hurry up and tell!

ma' THUS, IN THAT WAY (as described) (lengthened form of demonstrative stem *ma-*, § 43):

ma'A' qa'p'ĩya' thus (he) sang

ma-n-i-c-ampa- BARELY (probably lengthened *man-i-* TO DO THUS and enclitic *-c-ampa-*, § 19, 2, j); see § 53, 1, a

maŋaia-c-u- ON THE OTHER HAND (adverbially used independent objective personal pronoun HIM, § 39):

maŋa'iac imi'xain-i' on the other hand you too

nava-c-u- MERELY, FOR FUN, WITHOUT PURPOSE, IN VAIN

na'a'-c-u- DIFFERENTLY, SEPARATELY

nan-i'-c-u- SEPARATELY (cf. § 20, 5; § 59, 3, b)

qa, qatcu- NOT; see § 57

sv'v'wa- PROVIDED THAT, IF (perhaps *cv-* ONE and postpositional *-va-* AT, § 50, 4, 37):

sv'v'wa' aŋw ampa'xaxu'ŋwa if he (inv.) talks

cu(w)a'-r'ua- PERHAPS (probably *cua-* NEARLY, § 20, 12, and interrogative enclitic *-r'ua-*, § 19, 2, f)

tĩ'ŋwi-n-ia- QUICKLY, IN A HURRY (cf. adverbial prefix *tĩ'ŋwĩ-* . . . *-n-ia-*):

tĩŋwi'nia'a' quickly-thou! hurry!

tĩ'ŋwini(y)a'mũ tĩ'qa'mu' quickly-they (vis.) eat-usitative, they 2 always eat in a hurry

tĩv'ĩ'-c-u-, tĩv'ĩ'-c-ampa- SURE ENOUGH (for *tĩv'ĩ-* cf. *tĩv'ĩ'-tsu* VERY, d above)

umpa'i(a)-, umpa'ia-c-ampa- I DON'T CARE IF, NO MATTER:

umpa'in-i' no matter how thou (wilt test) me

ũmpa'i(y)aŋwĩnu I don't care how ye (will do to) me

ũmpa'ia-ampa-ŋa ya'a'ĩva' however-only he (vis.) die-will, I don't care if he dies

ũu'mp'w'ic-a-, ump'w'ic-a-c-ampa- ONLY FOR FUN

(3) ADVERBS BOUND IN POSITION. These are almost all of demonstrative origin. They are much more difficult to define than the preceding set of adverbs.

a', 'a' (lengthened form of demonstrative stem *a-*, § 43) follows quoted word, like Sanskrit *iti*; HO! Examples are:

wĩĩmp a·n'ia'xaiwa-nĩ vulva thus name-have-future-participle,
(it) will be called "vulva"

qam'i'w'uĩsĩ a·na'aγanti' rabbit-eye-noun suffix (obj.) thus
name-having (obj.), being called (obj.) "rabbit-eyed"

paa'n a· my aunt, ho!

ĩĩĩ INDEED, TRULY. This common adverb tends to amalgamate loosely with preceding personal pronouns, independent or enclitic. Thus, *nĩ' ĩĩĩ* is generally heard as *nĩ'ĩĩĩ*; *imi- ĩĩĩ* appears as, not *i'm ĩĩĩ*, but *imi'ĩĩĩ* (in general, *-i- ĩĩĩ* becomes *ĩĩĩ*); *-aγ ĩĩĩ* often coalesces to *-aγ ģĩĩ* (stopped *g* is sometimes heard for *γ* in others of these cases also). Present forms tend to take on preterital significance with *ĩĩĩ*. Examples are:

nĩ' ĩĩĩ nqno'c'i' I indeed dream-present, I did indeed dream
imi' ĩĩĩ uγwaro''a thou indeed anim. sing.-is, you indeed have
always been

mam'a''caγwoĩs ĩĩĩ uγwA old-woman indeed she (inv.), the
old woman indeed

a'ia-γ ģĩĩ 'a'ik'zA that (inan.)-obj.-he (vis.) indeed say, that
indeed he says

a'ian uγĩĩ 'a'ik'zA that indeed I (always) say

imi'nteu'a-q' ĩĩĩ iwi'γv thou-interrogative -it (vis.) indeed
drink-momentaneous, you *did* drink it

ĩĩĩ' INDEED (Ute form of *ĩĩĩ*, sometimes used also in Paiute)

'oai', *'oq'i'* (objective inanimate invisible demonstrative in origin; see § 42, 9 and § 43, 5) frequently used adverb (generally post-verbal) of quite elusive significance. It seems to have emphasizing force. It is particularly common after *ĩĩĩ* (see above); with preterital *-tea-* and *-γwa-* (§ 19, 1); after gerund *-t-si-* (§ 55, 1, a); in irrealis forms (§ 33, 1), particularly such as indicate unfulfilled desire (WOULD THAT . . . !); after futures in *-pa-* (§ 32, 4); after *-mĩ-* ALREADY (§ 30, 13); and after substantive verbal *-aq-a-* IT IS (§ 56, 3). In many cases it seems to turn absolute or present verb forms to past tense forms (probably only by implication). Examples are:

tu'qw'y'aĩĩqĩĩan'am 'oqi' shame-die-to-present-he (vis.)-thee,
he *is* ashamed of you

pa'qa'γvĩĩtcaro'a-γ 'oqi' kill-passive-preterit-interrogative-he
(vis.), did he get killed?

A'pĩ'iyĩĩan ĩĩĩ 'oai' sleep-present-he (vis.) indeed, he was indeed
sleeping

ĩĩĩ ĩĩĩ 'oai' yes, (he) was

pa²qa'ŋutsi'ŋw 'qi' having killed him (inv.)

uŋwa'ŋuq-v'q-waxa' 'ɔqi' would that it (inv.) might rain!

"mpa'iAcampani' 'ɔai' *pa²qa'umpa-ni* no matter-only-me-thou
kill-shall-me, I don't care if you kill me

tī'qa'm-i-yāŋ 'ɔai' he (vis.) is eating already

imi'ä-q' 'ɔai' it is thou

nī'ni 'ɔai' *pa²qa'ŋutucani* me kill-impersonal-me, somebody
killed me

imi'ŋwaiŋ ŋqū 'ɔqi' *yaa'ŋqw'ɔi'* thou-with-he (vis.) indeed
hunt-go-present, with you indeed he went hunting

U²qwa'i' (objective inanimate invisible third personal pronoun in
origin; see § 39 and § 42, 9) sometimes occurs instead of *'ɔai'*.

It is frequently used in songs as practically meaningless padder:

uq-wayā. Examples are:

nī'a-q' U²qwa'i' it is I

i'm U²qwai ŋwɪ't-ux-wA thou indeed (shouldst turn) in the other
direction

o'u, *'o'u* SO, THEN, REALLY (probably adverbialized use of invisible
demonstrative *"u'-*, § 43), e. g.:

'aŋa'o o'u he-at so, so at his place

pina'ŋq 'o'u (< *pina'ŋqWA 'o'u*) soon so

maa'in-ŋun-i 'c o'u touch-momentaneous-me-again so, touch me
then again

mava'c o'u so at that same place

Note that *-c-u-* and *o'u* amalgamate to *-c-o'u* and permit of vocalic
unvoicing before *-c-*.

uru'a-c-u- OTHERWISE (objective inanimate invisible demonstrative
and third personal pronoun; see § 39), e. g.:

ini't-uŋwa' iŋi'ŋumpaA²qan uru'ac-U this-away-thou drink-mo-
mentaneous-will-it (vis.)-I otherwise; go away, or I will drink it

uc-u- (probably invisible demonstrative stem *u-* + enclitic *-c-u-*)
emphasizing particle, e. g.:

'i'ŋanu(y)a-q' u'c-U this (anim.)-like-it (vis.) truly, maybe it is
this one here

uφ^{WA} THEN, NOW (perhaps < invisible demonstrative stem *u-* +
postpositional *-va-*, § 50, 4, 37) weakly emphatic particle, e. g.:

īw^{WA}'i' oφ^{WA} go ahead, thou, then!

uw^{WA}ai' THEN, AND, AS TO (apparently < *uw^{WA}ayu-*, cf. *uw^{WA}a-* above)
common emphasizing and connective particle; frequent after
-c-ampa- ONLY, EXCEPT (§ 19, 2, j). Examples are:

imi' uv'ai' i'ηa''a as to thee, well?
a'itcaram u'v'ai' where-preterit-we 2 (inclus.) now? where, now,
 are we?
axa'n-wa-ηan u'v'ai' what, then, shall I do with him (vis.)?
'i'tc uv'ai'v and this (inan.) (is how it got to be)
maηa'c-amp uv'ai' except that one (anim.)

§ 61. INTERJECTIONS.

Interjections are of two types: simple vocables expressing emotion or desire and without definite grammatical form; and words of definite grammatical form, generally adverbs or terms of demonstrative origin, that are secondarily employed as interjections.

(1) SIMPLE INTERJECTIONS:

a' HO! (e. g. *paa'n a'* MY AUNT, HO!; cf. § 60, 3)
'q, 'q, 'q' surprise, disgust
'aa'ik-wi, a'a'ik-wi, 'e'ik-wi OH!
aa'ik= OH!
a-wawa' meaningless cry in myth
'α, 't, e'i cry on guessing in hand-game
i'ha + great joy
i' YES!
i'i'ηA, 'i'ηA YES! *i'ηa''a* WELL?
i'ra', i'ra-'i' fear
i'ri' prohibitive: DON'T!
'η' (nasalized breath + voiced guttural nasal) disappointment, vexation
c + DON'T! SHUT UP! used also in driving away dogs
ψ'ma.i' YES! ALL RIGHT!
um'u'ya (*u'* and *ya* are equally high-pitched) great fear
o'v'a', o'v'a''a YES! (*qa'tcu* NO! is merely lengthened form of negative adverb *qa'tcu* NOT)
wa'χo' wa'χo' imitates frog's croaking
yo'v'v'in-i', yuv'v'in-i' HAIL! HURRAH!

(2) SECONDARY INTERJECTIONS:

a'iv'ic-U ENOUGH! (cf. § 60, 2, c)
i'v'i- ALAS! (cf. § 60, 2, d), e. g.:
i'v'i t-i'v'i'v'inu alas, my friend!

- ĩw'i'* (*U²*)*qwa* O poor—! (followed by objective, e. g. *ĩw'i'* *'q'wa* *nĩ'na* O poor me! *ĩw'i'* *'U²qwa* *n-ĩm'ĩ'* O poor us (exclus.)!; *'U²qwa*, *'q'wa* abbreviated forms of *U²qwa'i'*)
- ĩw'i'yaya'p-i* alas-cry-past passive partic., too bad!
- mai'ik-i*, *mai' qwa'c-u* greeting: HELLO! (*mai-* probably demonstrative, § 43, 5; *qwa'c-u* evidently third singular animate invisible pronoun, § 39)
- ĩw'i'ts-sampa* SURELY! OF COURSE! (cf. § 60, 2, c)
- 'mwa'c-ampa'a'* (rhetorically lengthened form of *'mwa'c-ampa* THAT (vis.)- ONLY) ENOUGH! BE QUIET!
- ɔ'nicampa* (rhetorically lengthened form of *'u'nicampa* THAT (inv.)- DO-ONLY) ENOUGH! BE QUIET!
- ya'nu* (< *iya'nu*, § 50, 4, 1) HERE I AM! PRESENT!

§ 62. IDIOMATIC USAGES.

A few remarks on verbs of doing and saying are all we need offer here. As numerous examples scattered through this paper have already shown, verbs of doing and saying are frequently used in Paiute in a wider sense than is customary in English. Verbs of doing, i. e. verbs in *-n-i-* (§ 26, 2, b; § 43, 3; § 44, 2, a), often refer, in a loose manner, to any activity or state but those of speech, sound, and mental operation. A correspondingly loose reference to activities and states of the latter sort is made by verbs of saying (*ai-* and *mai-*, § 43, 6). Thus, *un-i-* TO DO and *ai-* TO SAY are equivalently used in expressions in *-n-a-c-u-(v'ĩ-)* (ONE'S OWN) —ING AGAIN implying continuous and exclusive activity, e. g.:

- ĩ'qa'n-acuv un'i'k-ʒA* he keeps on eating (lit., does his own eating again)
- A'pĩ'inac-u(a)n un'i'k-ʒA* I do nothing but sleep
- qa'nA'cuw a'ip-ĩya'* he kept on singing, did nothing but sing (lit., said his own singing again)

(1) VERBS OF DOING. Further examples of the generalized use of demonstrative verbs of doing are:

- qa'iva-ntcit-ni an'ĩk-aip-ĩya'* mountain-lie-diminutive-participle-like do-resultative-past, like a little plateau (lit., mountain-lying) (it) was
- an-i'vuruyĩ* (song form) do-move about present, goes thus from place to place
- nĩ'c-amp an-i'k-ʒA* I-only do, it is only I

man' mikup'ya' thus (as described)-do-moving-inceptive-past, began to do that sort of movement, began to copulate (euphemistic reference clear from context)

"m^w α' n' ikaim' iaxwar' uan'o' thus-do-resultative-usitative-modal (§ 19, 2, c)-interrogative-indefinite, is one wont to be doing thus? that is not how one should be

imp' un'k' zA nu'yu' xaxa' what does (inv.) while moving? what is it that moves?

nū'axain' un'va n'i' I too shall do so, I'll go too (meaning determined by context)

un'avixa' while lying and doing so, while lying as described

nū' imi' A qan'va un'i'n'ni' I thee (= thy) house-at do-continuative-present, I stay at your house

un'm' miaxaic'u do-move-subordinating -just, while on (his) way

Corresponding generalized verbs of doing, happening, being, when of interrogative application, are expressed by *ayan'i-* TO DO WHAT? TO ACT HOW? TO HAVE WHAT HAPPEN TO ONE? (see § 44, 2, a). English HOW and WHY are regularly to be expressed in Paiute via an interrogative verb of doing. WHY DID YOU EAT IT?, e. g., has to be rephrased TO ACTING HOW, DID YOU EAT IT?

(2) VERBS OF SAYING. The corresponding generalized usage of verbs of saying finds less ready analogy in English. First of all, *ai-*, particularly in its usitative form, frequently means TO MEAN, TO REFER TO rather than literally TO SAY, e. g.:

a'intcu'a η 'a'imi' that-interrogative-he (vis.) say-usitative, is that what he is wont to say? he does not mean that

i'i' η ai' a'imizka' this (anim.)-obj. say-usitative-perfective, has been always referring to this one

For *ai-* . . . *n'ia-* TO THINK, see § 19, 2, d.

Examples of *ai-* as generalized verb of sound and mental operation, the precise nature of the reference being clear from the context, are:

nū i'γir' a'im' i' I indeed am wont to say = always have that dream
aya'n' i'pitsi' ηw a'ik' zA what-do-momentaneous-gerund-he (inv.) says,
 what happened to him that he says so? = what has happened to him to make him cry?

ava'nt o'p'ac-un' i' a'iva-nūi' it-at-being that (inv.)-in manner-same-like say-future-participle, (what is) there will be saying in just

the same manner = (everything that is) there (at the house) will be making the same sounds as ordinarily (so that people will not know it has been abandoned)

A number of verbs of sound or mental operation consist of *ai-* TO SAY preceded by some more specific word, e. g. *ampa'(i)yan·ia-ai-* NOISE-LIKE SAY, THERE IS NOISE GOING ON; *'an·ia-cu-ai-* WHAT (OBJ.)- AGAIN SAY? TO TEASE. Examples are:

ampa'(i)yan·i a'ik·ʔA noise is going on

'ava'ηwiti ampa'(i)yan·i a'iyucampa it-in-being (obj.) noise-like say-while-only, even if inside it there is noise going on

'an·i'acyηwin a'ik·ami what (obj.)-again-ye-me say-plural-usitative? ye always tease me

TEXT.

COYOTE SETS THE PARTURITION CUSTOMS.

<i>cina'ḡwawiy'ayw¹</i> Coyote-quotative- preterit	<i>aḡA²</i> he (vis.)	<i>m·w'α'va³</i> there	<i>qani'χa⁴</i> dwell,	<i>piḡwq·ḡ⁵</i> his (vis.) wife	
<i>aḡ⁶</i> she (vis.)	<i>aḡa'ruχw⁷</i> to him	<i>a'ip·iḡa⁸</i> said,	<i>cīi'xanḡiḡw'ain⁹</i> “Go to get squaw- bush twigs for me	<i>'a'c·itcuw'a·t·ḡn¹⁰</i> being about to make gathering-basket I	
<i>aik¹¹</i> say	<i>yma'nṯi¹²</i> being there- from (obj.).”	<i>ṽ'mai¹³</i> “Yes,”	<i>a'ip·iḡa⁸</i> said	<i>cina'ḡwαφi¹⁴</i> Coyote.	<i>yni'ḡuts¹⁵</i> Then
<i>'o'xḡa'ḡw'aip·iḡa¹⁶</i> went off in yonder direction		<i>cīi'v·w'impīaiḡaw¹⁷</i> his own squaw-bush	<i>'u'ra¹⁸</i> towards it (inv.).	<i>fiḡw'itc¹⁹</i> Very	
<i>miō'n·n²⁰</i> far distant	<i>yni'n'nip·iḡa²¹</i> was doing along	<i>nanḡa'p·iḡa²²</i> heard	<i>qa'p·i²³</i> singing (obj.).	<i>'a'ik·w²⁴</i> “Oh!”	
<i>a'ip·iḡa⁸</i> said	<i>cina'ḡwαφi¹⁴</i> Coyote,	<i>pua'ru'aiyuruon·iχain·i²⁵</i> “it seems I am getting supernatural power,	<i>cu'wαru'ani²⁶</i> almost-inter. -I		
<i>nōn·c'c·i²⁷</i> dream,	<i>narī'v·w'z²⁸</i> already	<i>pua'xant²⁹</i> medicine-man	<i>ḡḡwaru³⁰</i> am	<i>nī'³¹</i> I.”	
<i>i'v·aiyauq·v³²</i> Then	<i>nanḡa'tsanḡw·inip·iḡa³³</i> stood and listened,	<i>qatcu'·uq·wA³⁴</i> not it (inv.)	<i>nanḡa'p·iḡa⁸</i> heard.		
<i>i'v·aiyauq·³⁵</i> Then	<i>paḡa'in·v·qwi'p·iḡa³⁵</i> started off,	<i>yni'ḡut³⁶</i> Then	<i>nanḡa'p·iḡai'cuq·w³⁷</i> again heard it (inv.),		
<i>tira'c·kwōp·iḡaic·v³⁸</i> again stopped.	<i>yni'ḡut·³⁹</i> Then	<i>nanḡa'tsanḡw·inip·iḡaic·u'q·w³⁹</i> again stood and listened to it (inv.),			
<i>'a't·inanḡz·p·iḡai'k⁴⁰</i> heard it well	<i>v'v·aiyauq·⁴¹</i> then	<i>qa'q·p·i⁴¹</i> singing of many (obj.).	<i>n·m·w'·i⁴²</i> “We (excl.)		

*ani'k-a*⁴³ *kwi'mv^wrantuk-am'i'aya*⁴⁴ *a'ik-ʔAp̄ya*⁴⁵
are doing journeying in order to eat people," said (pl.)

*qa'm'marya*⁴⁶ *turumpapaiya-'aruq-wA*⁴⁷ *nontsi'k-amarya*⁵⁰ *ma-m'u-c*⁵¹
singing along beneath sky-vault flying along those (vis.)

*va'n-anqanw*⁵² *am*⁵³ *waa'n-iyavw*⁵⁴ *am' nani'*⁵⁵ *naq-wəyaya-maxam*⁵⁵
geese they Two chiefs they at both ends of it (vis.)
(vis.) (vis.) they (vis.)

*wini'm-iap-īya*⁵⁶ *cina'hwav*⁵⁷ *aŋ*⁵⁸ *pini'k-aip-īya-aim*⁵⁸
stood while Coyote he (vis.) saw them (inv.).
journeying.

*o'v^waiyauq-w*⁵⁹ *a'ip-īya*⁶⁰ *ni*⁶¹ *ma-n'q'woq-wA*⁶⁰ *qa-ni't-iriāi*⁶⁴
Then said, "I all (obj.) camp-places
them (inv.) (obj.)

*pa'p-a-γanti*⁶² *qa'q-aiva-ntsiγanti*⁶³ *mim^w-i'a-ntsiγanti*⁶⁴
spring-having mountain-having (pl. obj.) divide-having (pl. obj.)
(pl. obj.)

*kwi'kwi'tcuwatcutci*⁶⁵ *pa-va'-n'ncantsiγanti*⁶⁶ *ma-n'q'v*⁶⁵
knoll-having (pl. obj.) valley-having (pl. obj.) all (obj.)

*nuwi'ai'yag-w*⁶⁷ *pu'tcu'tcuywai'yug-w*⁶⁸ *iv^w-i'an*⁶⁹ *yni'nuts*⁷⁰
their (inv.) know them (inv.). Go ahead then
people (obj.) (pl.) me

*ni*⁷⁰ *na'u-p-an*⁷¹ *ma-m-a-ni*⁷² *ni'hum*⁷³ *yni'nuts* *mqi'mpa-hum*⁷⁰
I like self make (pl.) I you then shall lead you,⁷¹
me me,

*a'ip-īya*⁷⁴ *cina'hwafI* *'ani'a-γ*⁷⁵ *a'ik-ʔ*⁷⁶ *cina'hwav* *aŋ*⁷⁷
said Coyote. What he say Coyote he?"
(vis.)

*a'ik-p̄ya*⁴⁵ *nari'v^wiγug-waxa*⁷⁷ *ma-n'q'oya-q*⁷⁸ *pu'tcu'tcuywar*⁷⁹
said (pl.) while asking each All (obj.) them knowing
other. (vis.)

*a'iya-γ*⁸⁰ *'aik*¹¹ *uru'ac*⁸¹ *tiw^w-i'p-i*⁸² *pu'u'rainay*⁸³ *yni'nA*⁸⁴
that he say them (inv.) lands whither our doing.
(vis.) (obj.) (inclus.)

*maŋa'c*⁸⁵ *i'v'aiyaug'u* *na'vŋ'wa-m*⁸⁶ *aŋ* *a'ip'ŋya'*, *im'p'a'iaŋ*⁸⁷
 That then their (vis.) he said, "Let him
 one (vis.) chief (vis.) (vis.)

*a'iva*⁸⁸ *m'α'ŋ*⁸⁹ *cina'ŋwaŋ* *aŋ* *qa'te* *'a'iyuŋwai't'im*⁹⁰
 shall that Coyote he not being good (neg.);
 say (vis.) (vis.),

*maa'it'ŋk'i'v'a'ŋaraŋwa*⁹¹
 he (vis.) will cause us (inclus.) to be found out."

cina'ŋwaŋ *ŋmu'ŋqwa:x*⁹² *NU'qwa'm'miap'ŋya'*⁹³ *wa'a'ŋipax'pŋya'*⁹⁴
 Coyote moving under ran along, shouted while
 them journeying.

*'aa'ik-w*²⁴ *a'ip'ŋya'* *na'vŋ'wa-m*⁸⁶ *ani'xaiŋaraŋwa*⁹⁵
 "Oh!" said their (vis.) chief, "so doing he (vis.)
 us (inclus.)

*maa'it'ŋk'i'x'qwa'aiva*⁹⁶ *i'v'a'ŋaraŋwa*⁹⁷ *na'p'antuywa-ŋ*⁹⁸
 will perhaps cause to be Let us (inclus.) together him (vis.)
 caught. him (vis.)

*wi'ci'amamaxa-ŋ*⁹⁹ *a'ip'ŋya'* *na'vŋ'wa-m*⁸⁶ *i'v'a*¹⁰⁰
 shall give him (vis.) said their (vis.) chief. Down
 feathers,"

ŋni'ŋut *a'ŋa''vantux-w*¹⁰¹ *ŋuwa'k-ŋpŋya'*¹⁰² *cina'ŋwaŋ*¹⁰³
 then on to him flew down (pl.) Coyote (obj.).

cina'ŋwaŋ *na'q'ŋŋq'pŋya*¹⁰⁴ *wi'ci'amamax-pŋyaiŋŋ*¹⁰⁵
 Coyote dodged several times. Gave (pl.) him feathers

*na'p'antux-w*¹⁰⁶ *cina'ŋwaŋ* *a'ik'pŋya'*, *i'v'a'ca'*¹⁰⁷ *nŋntsi'q-v*¹⁰⁸
 together, Coyote said (pl.), "Go ahead fly off
 (obj.)

*mar*¹⁰⁹ *avi'tetci*¹¹⁰ *a'o'ra*¹¹¹ *ma-m'a'i*¹¹² *ŋni'ŋuts* *paiyi'ŋumpa*¹¹³
 that little ridge towards from on then shall return."
 (obj.) (obj.) it that

v'mai, *a'ip'ŋya'* *cina'ŋwaŋ* *nŋntsi'q-vpŋya*¹¹⁴ *a'vi'tetci*¹¹⁵
 "Yes," said Coyote, flew off, little ridge
 (obj.)

<i>qwaia'ngwəp</i> ¹¹⁶	<i>nə-ntsi'p-īya</i> ¹¹⁷	<i>ani'an</i>	<i>'aik-ʔ</i>	<i>a'ip-īya</i>
beyond	flew.	"What I	say?"	said
<i>nua'vŋ'wa-m</i> ¹	<i>um'α'nuva-nt</i> ¹¹⁸	<i>ywaru'</i> ^a	<i>m'α'ŋA</i>	<i>cina'ŋwaʔ</i>
their chief.	"About to be doing thus	he is	that	Coyote
<i>aŋ</i>	<i>qatcu'raŋwA</i> ¹¹⁹	<i>fiw'itsiχava-ŋ'wa'it-uraŋwA</i> ¹²⁰		<i>cina'ŋwaʔi</i>
he,	not us	being about to obey (neg.) us."		Coyote
<i>qə'niṣīya</i> ¹²¹	<i>a-vi'tetci</i>	<i>manaŋqwpai'yūq-w</i> ¹²²	<i>'a-mu'φA</i> ¹²³	
came back	little ridge (obj.)	from its (inv.) other side,	at them	
<i>ṣi'teṣīya</i> ¹²⁴	<i>ɔ'v'waiyaug</i> ¹	<i>maŋac</i>	<i>nua'v</i>	<i>aŋ</i>
arrived.	Then	that one	chief	he
				<i>a'ip-īya</i> , said,
<i>qatcu</i>	<i>nə-ntsi'n'wa-ŋwa</i> ¹²⁵	<i>niṣm'ɔ'ax-tux-w</i> ¹²⁶	<i>qatcu wa'a'ŋwa-ŋwa</i> ¹²⁷	
"Not	shall be flying around	around us, (exclus.)	not	shall shout,
<i>qatc</i>	<i>qa'va-ŋwa</i> ¹²⁸	<i>pa'a'n-i</i> ¹²⁹	<i>v'mai</i>	<i>a'ip-īya</i>
not	shall sing	loud."	"Yes,"	said
				<i>cina'ŋwaʔi</i> . Coyote.
<i>ma'n-un</i> ¹³⁰	<i>ya'c-iyup-īya</i> ¹³¹	<i>turyu'mpai</i> ¹³²	<i>'aura</i> ¹²³	<i>fi'v'wA</i> ¹⁰⁰
All	started to fly	sky (obj.)	towards it.	West- ward
<i>ynuts</i> ¹³⁴	<i>ya'c-pīya</i> ¹³⁵	<i>ṣu'u'raiṣ</i> ¹³⁶	<i>ynuy</i> ¹³⁷	<i>u'u'ra</i> ¹⁸
then	flew (pl.)	whither their own	do	towards it (inv.).
				<i>cina'ŋwaʔ</i> <i>aŋ</i> (vis.)
<i>a-m'ɔ'ax-tux-w</i> ¹³⁸	<i>nontsi'vurup-īya</i> ¹³⁹	<i>i'v'waiyaug-w</i>		<i>a'ip-īya</i>
around them	flew hither and thither.	Then		said
<i>nua'vŋ'wa-m</i> ¹	<i>wi'ci'aia-ŋaraŋ</i> ¹⁴⁰	<i>ɔva'q-aŋ-umpa-c</i> ¹⁴¹	<i>maa'it-iyk-</i>	
their (vis.) chief,	"His (vis.) feathers (obj.) we (inclus.)	shall again pull out (pl.),	he (vis.) will	
<i>fiw'a-ŋaraŋw</i>	<i>uru'ac</i> ¹⁴²	<i>ani'χa</i> ¹⁴³	<i>ɔ'v'waiyaug-ɔaŋ</i> ¹⁴⁴	
cause us (in- clus.) to be found out	that (obj. inv.)	doing."	Then him (vis.)	
<i>tetca'i'p-īyiam</i> ¹⁴⁵	<i>turyu'mpapaiya'va-ntux-w</i> ¹⁴⁶	<i>wi'si'aiya-ŋ</i> ¹⁴⁷		
they (vis.) took hold of	at sky-vault,	his (vis.) feathers (obj.)		

- ova'q'ayup'ya'*¹⁴⁸ *cina'hwaw* *ay'* *pi'tcu''am*¹⁴⁹ *cu'r'urup'iyain'*¹⁵⁰
 took off (pl.). Coyote he downward made noise of
 (vis.) whizzing
- fiw'i'p'uw'a-nfi'*¹⁵¹ *kw'i'pa'p'iy'a'*¹⁵² *ta'pa'e-piy'*¹⁵² *yni'guts* *pina'hwaw*¹⁵⁴
 being on ground fell, lay senseless, then soon
 (obj.)
- cuwa'p'itcp'iy'a'*¹⁵⁵ *sa'a'p'i'*¹⁵⁶ *pini'k'aip'iy'a'*¹⁵⁷ *a'ik-w*, *a'ip'iy'a'*,
 came to. Mush (obj.) saw. "Oh!" said,
- fi'yi'vutsiywuni'ani'*¹⁵⁸ *sa'a'm'amax'gain'*¹⁵⁹ *a'ip'ixa'* *ti'qa'xai'k-w.A.*¹⁶⁰
 "my friends, it have given (pl.) said while eating
 seems, me mush," it (inv.).
- pinanqw'*¹⁵⁴ *o'v'w'aiyauq'* *ti'qa'm'au'p'atsi'q-w*¹⁶¹ *ci'p'i'xiru-*
 Soon then having finished eating felt like
 it (inv.)
- tea-q'aip'iyain'*¹⁶² *maa'inipiy'*¹⁶³ *yni'guts* *to'tsi'va-nfi'af'i.*¹⁶⁴
 cold thrill going touched then being at his own
 through head, head (obj.).
- 'aa'ik-w*, *a'ip'iy'a'* *cina'hwaw*, *te'p'i'k'iar'on*¹⁶⁵ *yni'k'a'*¹⁶⁶ *ti'qa'xa'*¹⁶⁷
 "Oh!" said Coyote, "brains-obj.- was in- eating?"
 inter-I deed doing
- a'ip'iy'a'*. *pi'p'i't'a'ni'tiyaz-piya'*¹⁶⁸ *na'ha'i'aip'iy'a'*¹⁶⁹ *cina'hwaw*,
 said. Tried to vomit. Was angry Coyote,
- iv'w'in*¹⁷⁰ *nanwa'x'pa'mpa'am'i.*¹⁷¹ *fiw'a'im'miap'iy'a'*¹⁷² *cina'hwaw*¹⁷³
 "Let me shall follow their Traveled west Coyote,
 (inv.) tracks."
- 'a'v'iyup'iy'a'*¹⁷³ *pinanq* *o'v'w'aiyauq'* *nanqa'p'iy'a'aim'i*¹⁷⁴
 passed night Soon then heard them (inv.)
 after night on
 journey.
- qa'm'ia'nam'*¹⁷⁵ *cina'hwaw*, *a'ik'piya'*, *u'v'w'a-y'*¹⁷⁶ *nunw'i'rira'wop'a'*¹⁷⁷
 their (inv.) "Coyote," said "there right among
 singing while (pl.), she (vis.) people
 moving along.
- a'vi'* *ma-m'a'ut'*¹⁷⁸ *uy'* *imi'*¹⁷⁹ *uyw*¹⁸⁰ *'a'c'infuina'am.*¹⁸¹ *v'mai*,
 lies woman she of you she your liking." "Yes,"
 (inv.),

a'ip'īya' *cina'ḡwaḡi.* *'ava*¹⁸² *'arī'ac*¹⁸³ *qanū'p'ī*¹⁸⁴ *'ava*
 said Coyote. There that (inan. former there
 obj.) camping
 place (obj.)

*pi'taxw'aip'īya'*¹⁸⁵ *pU'ca'ḡaip'īyaiaḡ*¹⁸⁶ *mam'a'utsi*¹⁸⁷ *ḡnū'ḡaic-uaiḡ*¹⁸⁸
 went and arrived, looked for her woman so doing her
 (vis.) (obj.), (vis.)

*maa'ip'īya'*¹⁸⁹ *axa'n-wa'ḡan*¹⁹⁰ *u'v'ai*¹⁹¹ *a'ip'īya'* *cina'ḡwaḡi.*
 found. "How shall I then?" said Coyote.
 her (vis.) do

*uḡwa''vanturywa'ḡupīya'*¹⁹² *saxw.'ai'ḡw*¹⁹³ *uv'a''an*¹⁹⁴
 Got on top of her (inv.), her (inv.) stomach (obj.) on it (inv.)

*wūwī'n'ī'ḡup'īya'*¹⁹⁵ *ḡnū'ḡcu'uḡw*¹⁹⁶ *wī'ī'k'upīya'*¹⁹⁷ *maḡa'c*
 began to stand So doing to fell out that one
 stamping. her (inv.)

*īḡa''pītc*¹⁹⁸ *aiḡ.*
 baby he (vis.).

*axa'n-wa'ḡan*¹⁹⁰ *uv'ai*¹⁹¹ *a'ip'īya'* *cina'ḡwaḡi.* *ī'v'aiyauḡ-uḡw*¹⁹⁹
 "In what way then?" said Coyote. Then him (inv.)
 shall I do to
 him (vis.)

*yī'ī'k'ipīya'aiḡw*²⁰⁰ *paiyū'k'pīya'*²⁰¹ *'u'ra*¹⁸ *tiv'ī'p-uaiḡauḡi*²⁰²
 swallowed him (inv.), came back towards his own country
 it (inv.) (obj.).

*a'vī'ḡupax'pīyaic'U*²⁰³ *saxw.'a'ḡaḡḡḡpīya'*²⁰⁴ *ma'n*²⁰⁵ *un-wā'ntī*²⁰⁶
 Again passed night had stomach-ache. "In that being about
 after night on way to do
 journey,

mam'a'uts, *a'ip'īya'* *cina'ḡwaḡi.* *ī'v'aiyauḡ.* *qumū'ntuarīpīya'*²⁰⁷
 woman," said Coyote. Then heated stones on fire.

*ḡnū'ḡmāts*²⁰⁸ *wa'a'p'ī*²⁰⁹ *pA'pa'raḡḡai*²¹⁰ *o'mA*²¹¹ *pīrī'rīp'īya'*²¹²
 After doing so of cedar limb (obj.) on it hung on;
 (inv.)

*ḡnū'ḡ'uḡw*²¹³ *īḡa''pītc* *aiḡ* *wī'ī'k'upīya'* *ī'v'aiyauḡ.* *m'w'ī't-ḡyan'ī*²¹⁴
 while he baby he fell down. Then when at consid-
 (inv.) did so (vis.) erable distance

*qu' qwa' i' onayw' aiηup-īya'.*²¹⁵
went to get armful of wood.

*pu'tcipūya' na'a'it-īp-īya'aik-wa.*²¹⁶
Arrived, caused it (inv.) to burn;

*qumu'nfiarīqainav*²¹⁷
his own having heated
stones on fire

*uθ'a'a'χ*²¹⁸
on top of
it (inv.)

a-v'p-īya'
lay,

*yu't-uitchi'*²¹⁹
being warm
(obj.)

*pa-i*²²⁰
water
(obj.)

*ivi'p-īya'.*²²¹
drank.

yni'ηuts
Then

*tsi'q-un'wanumpurpūya'*²²²
made hair-scratcher,

*ym*²²³
with it
(inv.)

*yni'ηuts nantsi'x-qun'a-pūya'.*²²⁴
then scratched himself
in hair.

*i'in.*²²⁵
"In this
way

*yni'vā-ni'*²²⁶
being about
to do

ma-m'a'uts
woman

*nāntu' anqīηuts;*²²⁶
having given birth
to child,"

a'ip-īya'
said

cina'ηwaf.
Coyote.

FOOTNOTES.

¹ *cinaŋwari-* COYOTE, only used in myths; *-vi-* noun suffix (§ 24, 1, b); *i* < *ɪ* (§ 3, 3, b); *-y'a-* quotative enclitic (§ 19, 2, m); *-ɣw* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ɣwa-* preterital enclitic (§ 19, 1, a).

² Post-nominal pronoun (§ 42, 1).

³ *m'a'-*, *m'a'-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-va'*, final form (§ 8, 1, d) of *-va-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 38).

⁴ *qani-* HOUSE; *-ɣa'* spirantized (§ 16, 1), palatalized (§ 13, 4), final (§ 8, 1, e) form of *-kai-* verbalizing suffix TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, b). TO HAVE A HOUSE > TO DWELL.

⁵ *piŋwa-* wife; *-aŋa-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4). *piŋwa-aŋa-* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) and elided (§ 7, 1) to *piŋwa-ŋ*; *a-* secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2).

⁶ See note 2; final vowel elided (§ 7, 1).

⁷ *aŋa-* third person animate singular pronoun (§ 39; 39, 3); *-ruɣwa-*, elided (§ 7, 1) to *-ruɣw-*, *-ruɣw-*, postposition (§ 50, 4, 30).

⁸ *ai-* to say; *-p'ɪɣai-*, in final form (§ 8, 1, e), tense suffix of myth narrative (§ 32, 6).

⁹ *cii-* SQUAW-BUSH TWIG; *-xa-* verbalizing suffix TO ACQUIRE (§ 26, 1, c); *-ŋqɪ-* indirective FOR (§ 29, 11); *-xw'ai-* TO GO IN ORDER TO (§ 28, 3); *-n* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ni-* pronominal enclitic ME (§ 40; 40, 3). Imperative in form (§ 52).

¹⁰ *'a'cɪ-* < *'a'icɪ-* (§ 3, 3, a) GATHERING-BASKET; *-lcu-* < *-ru-*, *-tu-* (§ 13, 3) TO MAKE (§ 26, 1, d); *-w'a-* < *-va-* (§ 14, 3, b) temporal suffix of future time (§ 32, 4); *-tɪ-* < *-tsɪ-* (§ 3, 2, c; § 13, 7, a) gerund (§ 55, 1, a); *-n* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ni-* pronominal enclitic I (§ 40), subject of following verb, to which gerund is morphologically subordinate.

¹¹ *ai-* TO SAY; *-k-* elided (§ 7, 1) and palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-q-a-* tense suffix (§ 32, 2).

¹² *u-* secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2) form of *u-* invisible demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-mα-*, *-ma-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 7); *-nli-* < *-nliα-* (§ 8, 1, a) objective form (§ 49, 1) of participial *-nli-* (§ 25, 6, a). Form is objective because logically dependent on objectively thought *cii-* of preceding verb (note 9); GET SQUAW-BUSH TWIGS BEING THEREFROM > GET SOME OF THE SQUAW-BUSH TWIGS.

¹³ See § 61, 1.

¹⁴ See note 1. *-φɪ* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-vi-*.

¹⁵ *ɣnu-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-ɣnu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5); *-ts* elided from *-tsi-* gerund (§ 55, 1, a). HAVING SO DONE = THEN.

¹⁶ *'o'x-* < *'o'o-* (§ 8, 2, b) < *'o'-* (§ 10, 1) contracted from demonstrative stem *'o'-* (§ 43, 1) and *-u-*; *-u'p'a(-)* postposition (§ 50, 4, 35); *-ŋqwa'-* TO GO (§ 28, 1); *-p'ɪɣa'* as in note 8.

¹⁷ *cīi*-³ as in note 9; *-vūi*-ⁿ < *-vū*-ⁿ (§ 14, 3, b) nominal suffix for PLANTS (§ 24, 1, e); *-mpī*- nominalizing suffix used with possessive *-a*- (§ 24, 1, d); *-a*- possessive suffix (§ 24, 2, a); *-i*- glide (§ 5, 1); *-ya*- objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-u*- glide (§ 5, 2); *-v*- elided (§ 7, 1) form of *-vī*- reflexive possessive (§ 40, 4). Form is objective because in apposition with following postpositional phrase (§§ 49; 50, 3).

¹⁸ = *u'u'ra*. *u*- demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-ura*' final form (§ 8, 1, e) of *-urai*- postposition (§ 50, 4, 36).

¹⁹ Adverb of degree (§ 60, 2, c).

²⁰ *mi*- local adverbial stem (§ 60, 2, b); *-ni*- elided (§ 7, 1) from *-nia*- enclitic LIKE (§ 19, 2, d) appended to several adverbs.

²¹ *yni*- TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-ni*- continuative (§ 30, 12); *-pīya*' as in note 8. WAS DOING ALONG used in idiomatic sense (§ 62, 1) to refer to movement.

²² *naŋga*- TO HEAR.

²³ *qa*- TO SING; *-pi*' final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-pia*-; *-pi*- past passive participial suffix (§ 25, 5, a), *qa-pi*- meaning literally WHAT HAS BEEN SUNG; *-a*- objective (§ 49, 1), noun being direct object of preceding verb.

²⁴ Elided (§ 7, 1) from *'aik-wi*- (§ 61, 1).

²⁵ *pua*-³ SUPERNATURAL POWER, SUPERNATURAL; *-ru'a*- verbalizing suffix TO BECOME (§ 26, 1, f); *-i*- glide (§ 5, 1); *-yu*- assimilated (§ 3, 3, f) from *-yī*- present temporal suffix (§ 32, 1); *-ru*- = *-ru'a*- (§ 3, 1, c) interrogative enclitic (§ 19, 2, f) going with following enclitic *-yain ia*- to mean APPARENTLY; *-ni*- subjective pronominal enclitic (§ 40, 2); *-xain-i*' palatalized (§ 13, 4) final (§ 8, 1, a) form of modal enclitic *-yain ia*- (§ 19, 2, a).

²⁶ *cūwa*- with glide *-w* (§ 14, 3, a) modal adverb NEARLY (§ 60, 2, d) generally used as verb prefix (§ 20, 12); *-ru'a*- interrogative enclitic (§ 19, 2, f); *-ni* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of subjective pronominal enclitic *-ni*- (§ 40, 2), subject of following verb. NEARLY? = PERHAPS.

²⁷ Final form (§ 8, 1, c) of *non-oc-i-yī*-; *no*- inorganically lengthened (§ 4, 2, a); *non-oc-i*- TO DREAM; *-yī*- present temporal suffix (§ 32, 1).

²⁸ Temporal adverb (§ 60, 2, a).

²⁹ *pua*-³ as in note 25; *-xant* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-xanti*- HAVING, present participle (§ 25, 6, a) of *-yai*- TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, b). HAVING SUPERNATURAL POWER = MEDICINE-MAN.

³⁰ Substantive verb of animate singular subject (§ 56, 1), compounded of *uŋw* HE (§ 39, 1) and *aru'a*- TO BE (§ 43, 4). Note following first personal subject despite its composition with third personal element.

³¹ Independent personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); nasalization secondary (§ 6, 2).

³² Properly *u'v'aiyauq-v*, pronunciations with *i*- and *o*- due to careless articulation of unemphatic word. Temporal adverb (§ 60, 2, a) composed of demonstrative *u*- (§ 43, 1) and *-v'aiyauq-u*- labialized (§ 14, 3, b) from *-vaiyauq-u*- postposition (§ 50, 4, 41).

³³ Compound verb (§ 18, 2, a). *naŋgalca*- TO LISTEN consists of *naŋga*- TO HEAR (cf. note 22) and rare suffix *-lca* (§ 26, 1, j); *-ŋwīnu*- postvocalic (§ 13, 2) form of *wīnu*- to stand, secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2); *-pīya*' as in note 8.

³⁴ *qatcu*- NOT (§ 57) broken because of following element; *-'* . . . *qwa*- pronominal enclitic *rr* (inv.) used objectively (§ 40, 3), in final form (§ 8, 1, a).

³⁵ So frequently heard for *paɣa'in^{nu}qwi-* compound verb (§ 18, 2, a). *paɣai-* with inorganic *-a-* (§ 3, 2, a) TO WALK; *nuq-wi-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) to *-n^{nu}qwi-* TO STREAM, RUN; *-p-ɣa'* as in note 8. TO WALK-STREAM = TO START OFF.

³⁶ Simplified from *ɣn'ɣuls-* (§ 13, 7, a). For analysis see note 15.

³⁷ *naɣga-* TO HEAR; *-p-ɣai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-cu-* enclitic suffix AGAIN (§ 19, 2, k); *-'* . . . *q-w* as in note 34.

³⁸ *tɪrac-uk-wa-* TO STOP; *ɪ > ɪ* (§ 3, 3, b); *-c-ɪ-* < *-c-ɪ-* unvoiced to *c-ɪ-*, *-c-* (§ 8, 2, a); *-k-wa->* *-k-wa-* (§ 3, 1, c); *-p-ɣai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-c-u* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of enclitic *-c-u-* AGAIN (§ 19, 2, k).

³⁹ As in note 33, except that *-ɣwɪ-* is labialized to *-ɣw-* (§ 3, 3, d); *-c-u-* and *-'* . . . *q-w* as in note 37.

⁴⁰ Adjective-verb compound (§ 18, 2, b). *'a't-ɪ-* WELL irregular participial form in *-ɪ-* (§ 25, 6, a) of verb stem *'a'yu-* TO BE GOOD; *-na'ɣqz-* < *na'ɣqa-*; *naɣga-* TO HEAR (§ 10, 1); *-p-ɣai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-'* . . . *k-wa-* enclitic pronominal object IT (inv.) (§ 40, 3) dissimilated (§ 13, 7, e) from elided *-k-w* (§ 7, 1) to *-k-*.

⁴¹ *qa-* TO SING; *-q-'* = *-q-a-* unvoiced form (§ 8, 2, a) of *-q-a-* suffix indicating plural subject (agent) of verb (§ 31, 1, c); *-pi'* = *-p-ia-* as in note 23.

⁴² Independent subjective personal pronoun (§ 39, 1) with preserved final vowel followed by *'* because coming before *ani-* TO DO (§ 7, 3).

⁴³ Song form for *anuk^{ɣa}*. *anu-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-k-a-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-q-a-* as in note 41.

⁴⁴ Myth form. *kwi-mv^{ɣa}* of unknown significance; *-nuk-a-* nasalized (§ 16, 3) form of *liqa-* TO EAT; *-ma-* plural verb of movement (§ 18, 2, a) TO GO IN ORDER TO (§ 28, 3); *-ɣa'* final form (§ 8, 1, e) of *-ɣai-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, b).

⁴⁵ *ai-* and *-p-ɣa'* as in note 8; *-k-ɣa-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *-q-a-* as in note 41.

⁴⁶ *qa-* TO SING; *-m'mua-* TO MOVE WHILE -ING (§ 28, 4); *-ɣa* as in note 44.

⁴⁷ *turumpa-* SKY; *-pa(i)ya^a-ruq-wa* compound postposition (§ 50, 4, 45).

⁴⁸ *nonts-* TO FLY; *-k-a-* as in note 45 (but voiced form); *-ma-* and *-ɣa'* as in note 44.

⁴⁹ Independent subjective pronoun (§ 39, 1).

⁵⁰ *van-anqa-* GOOSE; *-ɣw* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ɣwɪ-* animate plural (§ 48, 1).

⁵¹ Post-nominal pronoun (§ 42, 2).

⁵² Compound of numeral stem and noun (§ 59, 2, b). *waa-*, *wa-* TWO; *nu(y)a-vi-* CHIEF with nominal suffix *-vi-* (§ 24, 1, b); *-ɣw-* as in note 52.

⁵³ Compound of quasi-numeral and noun (§ 59, 3, b; § 59, 2, b). *nanu'na-* BOTH, DIFFERENT (with inanimate nouns); *-q(w)-* objective suffix (§ 59, 2, a) used also in composition; *yaɣa-* END; *-mazqam* = *-maaqamɪ* (§ 8, 2, a); *-ma-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 7); *-aqamɪ* unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) form of *-aqamɪ-* combined pronominal enclitic (§ 41, 1, e) referring to subject and possessive of noun with postposition (§ 41, 2, d).

⁵⁴ Compound verb (§ 18, 2, a). *wɪnu-* TO STAND; *-m-ia-* SEVERAL JOURNEY; *-p-ɣa'* as in note 8.

⁵⁷ Cf. note 1. *-i-* elided (§ 7, 1) to *-v*.

⁵⁸ *pīni-* TO SEE, LOOK; *i* secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2); *-kai-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-qai-* resultative (§ 30, 9), regularly suffixed to *pīni-* in its normal sense of TO SEE; *-pīyai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6) broken (§ 15, 2, a) to *-pīya'i-* by following pronominal element; *-'* . . . *m'* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of objective pronominal enclitic *-'* . . . *mī-* THEM (INV.) (§ 40, 3).

⁵⁹ As in note 32. Final *-u-* elided (§ 7, 1); *-w* glide (§ 14, 3, c).

⁶⁰ *man-ə* secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) from *man-ə* ALL (§ 59, 3, a); *-qwo-* objective *-qo-* (§ 49, 1; § 59, 2, a) with glide *-w-* (§ 14, 3, c) and glottalized *q̣* (§ 15, 2, b) due to following pronominal element; *-'* . . . *qwa* objective pronominal enclitic (§ 40, 3) pleonastically referring to following objective noun, to which *man-ə-qwo-* is attributive.

⁶¹ *qa-nu-* secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) from *qani-* house; *-t-riā-* reduplicated plural of *-t-riā-* PLACE OF (§ 25, 4, a); *-i'* final form (§ 8, 1, c) of objective *-ya-* (§ 49, 1). Object used genitively with *nūwī'ai'yaq-w* below (note 67): I KNOW THE PEOPLE OF ALL THE CAMP-PLACES.

⁶² *pa-p-a-* reduplicated plural (§ 58, 3, d) of *pa-^a* WATER, SPRING; *-γanti'* = *-γantiā* objective form (§ 49, 1) of *-γanti-* HAVING (§ 25, 6, a) participial form of *-yai-* TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, b). Objective in form because modifying *qa-nu't-riai'*.

⁶³ *qa-qaiwa-* reduplicated plural (§ 58, 3, d) of *qaiwa-* mountain; *-ntsi-* diminutive (§ 35, 2); *-γanti'* palatalized form (§ 13, 4) of *-γanti'* as in note 62.

⁶⁴ *mīm^{ia}-* reduplicated plural (§ 58, 3, c) of *mīa-ⁿ* DIVIDE generally in form *mīa'-γanti-*; *-ntsi-* and *-γanti'* as in note 63.

⁶⁵ *kwi'kwi'tcuwa-* reduplicated distributive (§ 58, 3, c) of *kwi'tcuwa-^a* appearing generally in participial form *kwi'tcu'va-ri-* KNOLL; *-tci-* assimilated (§ 13, 8, e) from *-tsi-^a* diminutive (§ 35, 2); *-tci'* = *-tciā* objective form (§ 49, 1) of participial *-tci-* (§ 25, 6, a) assimilated from *-ri-*, *-ti-* (§ 13, 3). Syntax as in note 62.

⁶⁶ *pa-va-n'noa-* secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) from *pava-n'noa-* reduplicated plural (§ 58, 3, b) of *pa-n'noa-* HOLLOW, VALLEY generally in form *pa-n'no-γanti-*; *-ntsi-* and *-γanti'* as in note 63.

⁶⁷ *nūwīa-* PEOPLE OF (A PLACE) consisting probably of *nūwī-* PERSON and possessive *-a-* (§ 24, 2, a); *-i-* glide (§ 5, 1); *-ya-* objective (§ 49, 1); *-'* . . . *q-w* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4), THEIR (INAN.) referring to *ma-n-ə'-q̣woq-w* . . . *pa-va-n'noantsi-γanti'*. Object of following verb.

⁶⁸ *pu'tcu'tcuwa-* TO KNOW probably contains instrumental prefix *pu-^o* (§ 21, 4); *-i-* glide (§ 5, 1); *-yu-* < *-yi-* present tense (§ 32, 1); *-'* . . . *q-w* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

⁶⁹ = *iwⁱ-yan* (§ 13, 6). *iwⁱ-* hortatory adverb (§ 60, 2, d); *-ya-* dual-plural imperative enclitic (§ 52); *-n* elided (§ 5, 1) from *-ni-* ME (§ 40, 3).

⁷⁰ Subjective in form because object of imperative construction (§ 39, 1; § 52).

⁷¹ *na-* reflexive pronominal stem (§ 46); *-uḫ-a-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 35); *-n* for *-ni* voiceless (§ 8, 1, a) form of *-ni-* ME (§ 40, 3).

⁷² *ma-m-a-* secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) from *mam-a-* reduplicated distributive (§ 58, 3, c) of *ma-* TO MAKE INTO; *-ni* as in note 71. Observe that ME is expressed four times in this sentence.

⁷³ *nĩ-* secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2) from *nĩ-* I (§ 39, 1); *-num* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-numi-* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3). For combination of independent and enclitic pronoun, see § 40, 6, a.

⁷⁴ *mqi-* nasalized (§ 6, 2) from *moi-* TO LEAD; *-mpa-* future of intention (§ 32, 4); *-num** = *-numi* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-numi-* as in note 73.

⁷⁵ Elided (§ 7, 1) and contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *'ana-aya-*; *'ana-* objective WHAT? with verb of saying (§ 44, 1, d); *-aya-* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2).

⁷⁶ As in note 11, except for voiceless form (*-k** = *-k*ʰ*; § 8, 1, a) of suffix.

⁷⁷ *na-* reciprocal prefix (§ 22, 1); *-rivʷigu-* spirantized (§ 16, 1) from *livʷigu-* TO ASK probably containing momentaneous *-gu-* (§ 30, 5); *-q-wa-* labialized (§ 14, 3, c) from *-q-a-* plural suffix (§ 31, 1, c); *-xa'* = *-ya'* as in note 44.

⁷⁸ *ma-n-q-o-* as in note 60. *-ya-q** contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *-ya-aq**; *-ya-* probably for *-y'a-* quotative enclitic (§ 19, 2, m); *-aq** objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

⁷⁹ *pu'tcu'tcuɣwa-* TO KNOW as in note 68; *-r* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-rĩ-* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a). For indicative use of participle, see § 55, 4, e.

⁸⁰ *ai-* inanimate demonstrative (§ 43, 5); *-y-* glide (§ 14, 2); *-a-ŋ* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *-a-aŋ*; *-a-* objective (§ 49, 1); *-aŋ* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-aya-* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2).

⁸¹ = *uru'a-c-u-* objective independent inanimate pronoun (§ 39, 1).

⁸² = *livʷi'p-ĩ* objective (§ 49, 1) of *livʷip-ĩ* LAND containing nominal suffix *-p-ĩ* (§ 24, 1, d). Object of *pu'tcu'tcuɣwar*, takes up *-aq** of note 78.

⁸³ Assimilated (§ 3, 3, f) from *pĩ-'urai-*; *pĩ-* relative pronoun (§ 45); *-'urai-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 36); *-naŋ* < *-naŋw* (§ 13, 7, c) < *-naŋwa-* (§ 7, 1) apparently dissimilated from, if not misheard for, *-raŋwa-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4).

⁸⁴ *yni-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-na* suffix of verbal noun (§ 25, 3) used as equivalent of relative clause (§ 45).

⁸⁵ Independent animate singular pronoun (§ 39, 1) anticipating following *na-viŋ'wa-m- aŋ*.

⁸⁶ *na-vi-* CHIEF; *-ŋ'wa-m-* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) and elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ŋ'wa-am-ĩ-*; *-ŋ'wa-* possessive suffix (§ 24, 2, b); *-am-ĩ-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4).

⁸⁷ *impʷai-* modal adverb (§ 60, 2, d); *-aŋ* as in note 80, anticipates following *cinaŋwaw aŋ*.

⁸⁸ *ai-* TO SAY; *-va* final form (§ 8, 1, d) of *-va-* future suffix (§ 32, 4).

⁸⁹ Animate singular demonstrative (§ 39, 1) used attributively with following noun.

⁹⁰ *'a(i)yu-* TO BE GOOD; *-ŋwai'* negative suffix (§ 57, 2, b); *-ĩ-* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a); *-m'* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-mĩ-* animate plural suffix (§ 48, 1).

⁹¹ *maai-* TO FIND OUT; *-l-i-* contracted (§ 4, 1, c) from *-l-wi-* causative suffix (§ 29, 12); *-ŋk-* = *-ŋk-i-* voiceless form (§ 10, 1) of *-ŋk-i-* indirective suffix (§ 29, 11); *-li-* = *-li-* passive suffix (§ 29, 13); *-v'a-ŋa-* < *-va-aŋa-* (§ 14, 3, b; § 4, 1, a); *-va-* future (§ 32, 4); *-aŋaraŋwa* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-aŋaraŋwa-* enclitic pronouns of subject and object (§ 41, 1, d; § 41, 2, a).

⁹² *ŋmu-* animate plural personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-ŋqwa-x-* = *-ŋuqwa-x-i* unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a and 2, a; § 10, 1) from *-ruq-wa-ŋi-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 31).

⁹³ *NU²qwi-* TO RUN; *-m'mia-* suffix of movement (§ 28, 4); *-p-ŋya'* tense suffix (§ 32, 6).

⁹⁴ Compound verb (§ 18, 2, a). *wa'a'ŋi-* unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) from *wa'aŋi-* TO SHOUT; *-pax-* = *-pax-i-* unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *-pay(a)i-* TO WALK, TO — WHILE JOURNEYING; *-p-ŋya'* as in note 93.

⁹⁵ *ani-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-xai-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-yai-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, b); *-aŋaraŋwa* as in note 91.

⁹⁶ = *ma'a'it'ŋk'li-* (§ 8, 2, a and b) as in note 91. *-q'wa-* apparently semi-temporal use of *-q-wa-* OFF (§ 28, 2); *-va* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-va-* future suffix (§ 32, 4).

⁹⁷ *iw'i-* modal adverb (§ 60, 2, d); *-aŋaraŋwa* as in note 91, except that functions of subject and object are reversed.

⁹⁸ Contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *na-uŋ'antuywa-aŋa*; *na-* reciprocal pronoun (§ 46); *-uŋ'a-ntuywa-* compound postposition (§ 50, 4); *-aŋa* enclitic pronominal object (§ 40, 3).

⁹⁹ *w'ŋ'cia-* so heard for *w'ŋ'cia-* FEATHER incorporated as noun object (§ 18, 2, f, γ); *-mamaza-* reduplicated distributive (§ 58, 3, c), indicating plurality of subject, of *maŋa-* TO GIVE; *-va-ŋ'* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *-va-aŋa*; *-va-* as in note 96; *-aŋa* as in note 98.

¹⁰⁰ *liw'ai-* (§ 7, 2) local adverb (§ 60, 2, b).

¹⁰¹ Secondly lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *ŋa'vantuywa*; *ŋa-* animate singular personal pronoun (§ 39, 1 and 3); *-vantuywa-* compound postposition (§ 50, 4, 47).

¹⁰² *yu(w)ak-i-* TO FLY DOWN (plural subject) unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a); *-p-ŋya'* as in note 93.

¹⁰³ = *cina'ŋwavi* objective form (§ 49, 1) because referring to postpositional phrase (§ 49, 2; see note 101).

¹⁰⁴ Abbreviated form (§ 10, 3) of *nana'q-At'ŋq'ŋp-ŋya'*; *nana'q-At'i-* reduplicated iterative (§ 58, 4, d) of *naŋat-i-* momentaneous form (§ 53, 2, b) of *naŋar-i-* TO DODGE; *-ŋq'i-* indirective (§ 29, 11); *-p-ŋya* as in note 93.

¹⁰⁵ *w'ŋ'cia'amamaz-* as in note 99, except that *-maŋa-* is unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) to *-max-*; *-p-ŋya-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-y-* glide (§ 14, 2); *-aŋ* = *-aŋa* as in note 98.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. note 98.

¹⁰⁷ *iw'i-* modal adverb (§ 60, 2, d); *-i-* second person singular subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2); *-ca'a* modal enclitic (§ 19, 2, i).

¹⁰⁸ *nantsi-* TO FLY; *-q-u-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 7).

¹⁰⁹ Inanimate demonstrative elided (§ 7, 1) from *maria-* objective (§ 39, 1 and 4) in agreement with following noun.

¹¹⁰ *avi-* TO LIE; *-lci-* assimilated (§ 13, 8, e) from *-tsi-* diminutive suffix (§ 35, 2); *-lci-* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a); objective *-a-* (§ 49, 1) elided (§ 7, 1). Form is objective because construed periphrastically with following postpositional phrase (§ 50, 3).

¹¹¹ *a-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-'orai-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 36).

¹¹² Secondly lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and elided (§ 7, 1) from *mam-aiu-* = *mam-ayu* (§ 13, 6); *ma-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-m-a-yu-* compound postposition (§ 50, 4, 7).

¹¹³ *pa(i)yi-*, *pa(i)yu-* TO RETURN; *-yu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5); *-mpa'* final form (§ 8, 1, d) of *-mpa-* future suffix (§ 32, 4).

¹¹⁴ See note 108. Secondly lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and nasalized (§ 6, 2) from *nontsi-* TO FLY.

¹¹⁵ *a-vi-* secondarily lengthened from *avi-* (§ 4, 2, a). See note 110.

¹¹⁶ *qwaia-* local adverb (§ 60, 2, b); *-ngwap-a-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 16) labialized (§ 3, 1, c) to *-ngwap-a-*.

¹¹⁷ Cf. note 114. *-tsi-*, *-tsi-* < *-tsi-* (§ 3, 2, b). Note durative force (§ 30) of verb because unprovided with *-q-u-* suffix.

¹¹⁸ *mwawa-ni-* TO DO THUS (§ 43, 3); *-va-* future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-ni* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-nli-* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a). For syntax see § 55, 4, d.

¹¹⁹ *qatcu-* negative adverb (§ 57); *-raŋwa* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

¹²⁰ *tiv^wdsixa-* TO OBEY; *-va-* future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-ŋ'wai-* negative (§ 57, 2, b); *-t-i-* = *-t-i-* (§ 3, 3, b) participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a); *-raŋwa* as in note 119. For pleonastic use of pronoun see § 40, 5.

¹²¹ *qo-ni-* TO COME BACK; secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2) and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) to *qo-ni-*.

¹²² Probably for *mana'ngwa-pa(i)'yu-q-wa* (§ 3, 5, c). *manangwap-a(i)-yu-* compound postposition (§ 50, 4, 7 and 49) apparently here used as independent word following objective form of noun (§ 50, 3); *-'* . . . *q-wa* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4) referring to *a-vi'talc'i*.

¹²³ Secondly lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and rounded (§ 3, d) from *'amī-* independent animate plural third personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-φa* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-va-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 37).

¹²⁴ Abbreviated form (§ 10, 3) of *pi'pu'tc'i-* reduplicated momentaneous form (§ 58, 5, c) of *pilci-* TO ARRIVE.

¹²⁵ *ng^wntsi-* as in note 117; *-n'i-* continuative suffix (§ 30, 12); *-va-* future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-ŋwa'* final form (§ 8, 1, e) of *-ŋwa'ai-* negative suffix (§ 57, 2, b).

¹²⁶ *nim^wi-* independent personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-ɔax-itux-wa* voiceless form (§ 8, 1, a and 2, a) of *-ɔaxit-uŋwa-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 26).

¹²⁷ *wa'ayi-* TO SHOUT; *-va-ŋwa'* as in note 125.

¹²⁸ *qa-* TO SING; *-va-ŋwa'* as in note 125.

¹²⁹ Final form (§ 8, 1, c) of *pa'a'n-i-yi-*; *pa'an-i-* TO BE HIGH, LOUD; *-yi-* present temporal suffix (§ 32, 1). For syntax, see § 55, 3.

¹³⁰ Secondly lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) from *man-u-ni-wa-* ALL (§ 59, 3, a).

¹³¹ *ya-c-i* SEVERAL FLY; *-yu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5); *-p-ŋya'* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6).

¹³² *tuɣumpa*- SKY analyzable into *tuɣu*-ⁿ UP (§ 60, 2, b) and nominal suffix *-mpa*- (§ 24, 4, b); *-i* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ia*-, *-ya*- objective suffix (§ 49, 1).

¹³³ = *a'u'ra'*- *a*- demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1) referring to preceding noun; *-'ura'* postposition (§ 50, 4, 36).

¹³⁴ *ɣnu*- TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-ts*- final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-tsi*- gerund (§ 55, 1 a).
HAVING SO DONE > THEN.

¹³⁵ *ya-c*- unvoiced form (§ 8, 2, a) of *ya-c-i*- SEVERAL FLY.

¹³⁶ *pu'urai*- as in note 83; *-v* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-vi*- reflexive possessive pronoun (§ 40, 4).

¹³⁷ *ɣnu*- TO DO; *-ŋ* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ɣu*- momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5).
For absolute verbal form in relative clause, see § 45.

¹³⁸ Read *a-m-ɔ'-ax-itux-wa* secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a), assimilated (§ 3, 3, e), contracted (§ 4, 1, f), and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *am-ɔ-aɣit-uɣwa*; *am-i*- animate plural independent personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-ɔ-aɣit-uɣwa*- postposition (§ 50, 4, 26).

¹³⁹ < *nɔntsi*- (§ 3, 2, b) TO FLY; *-vuru*- compounded verb stem TO GO FROM PLACE TO PLACE (§ 18, 2, a).

¹⁴⁰ = *wɪ'ci'a-ya-aŋa-raŋwa*- (§ 13, 6; § 4, 1, a; § 13, 7, c); *wɪ'ci'a*- FEATHER; *-ya*- objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-aŋaraŋwa*- combined subjective and possessive enclitic pronouns (§ 41, 1, d and 2, d).

¹⁴¹ *wa*- TO PULL OUT (HAIR, FEATHERS); *-q-a*- suffix of plural subject (§ 31, 1, c); *-ɣu*-ⁿ momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5); *-mpa*- future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-c-u* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-c-u*- enclitic AGAIN (§ 19, 2, k).

¹⁴² *urua*- objective pronoun inanimate (§ 39, 1); *-c*- elided (§ 7, 1) from *-c-u*- as in note 141.

¹⁴³ *ani*- TO DO; *-xa'* < *-ɣai*- (§ 13, 4; § 8, 1, e) subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, b).

¹⁴⁴ = *u'u'aiyauq-u*- (§ 3, 5, e) THEN; *-aŋa* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

¹⁴⁵ *ɪcatcai'*- reduplicated distributive (§ 58, 3, b) of *ɪca'ai*- TO TAKE HOLD OF; *-p-ɪ'ai*- temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-ami*- subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2).

¹⁴⁶ *tuɣumpa*- SKY; *-pa(i)ya-wa-ntuɣwa*- compounded postposition (§ 50, 4, 45 and 38).

¹⁴⁷ = *wɪ'ci'a-ya-aŋa*-. Cf. note 140.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. note 141.

¹⁴⁹ Local adverb (§ 60, 2, b).

¹⁵⁰ *cu'uru*- onomatopoeic stem with final reduplication (§ 58, 6); *-p-ɪ'ai*- as in note 145; *-ni*- final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-ni-a*- modal enclitic LIKE (§ 19, 2, d).

¹⁵¹ *tiw'p-u*- rounded (§ 3, 3, d) from *tiw'p-i*- EARTH; *-v'a*- < *-va*- (§ 14, 3, b) postposition (§ 50, 4, 38); *-ni* = *ni'a* objective (§ 49, 1) form of participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a). For syntax, see § 55, 4, c.

¹⁵² *kwi'pa'*- TO STRIKE, FALL ON.

¹⁵³ *ɪa'pa'c-i*- TO LIE SENSELESS; *-p-ɪ* over-elided (§ 7, 4) from *-p-ɪ'ai*- temporal suffix (§ 32, 6).

¹⁵⁴ Temporal adverb (§ 60, 2, a).

¹⁵⁵ *cu(w)a-s* TO BREATHE (dur. *cua-q-a*-, mom. *cua-ŋ'wi*-); *-pɪca*- TO ARRIVE.
TO BREATHE ARRIVE = TO COME TO, TO REVIVE.

¹⁵⁵ *sa'a-* TO MAKE MUSH; *-p-i'* = *-p-i-a* objective form (§ 49, 1) of past passive participial *-p-i-* (§ 25, 5, a), MUSH-MADE > MUSH. Object of following verb.

¹⁵⁷ See note 58.

¹⁵⁸ *tīyivw-* FRIEND rounded (§ 3, 3, d) to *tīyivw-*; *-ts-* noun suffix (§ 24, 1, f); *-ḡwv-* rounded (§ 3, 3, d) and secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2) from *-ḡwī-* animate plural suffix (§ 48, 1, b); *-na-* modal enclitic (§ 19, 2, d); *-ni* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4).

¹⁵⁹ *sa'a-* MUSH incorporated object (§ 18, 2, f, γ); *-m-amaz-* unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *-m-amaya-* reduplicated distributive (§ 58, 3, c) of *may-a-* TO GIVE; *-qai-* perfective suffix (§ 32, 3); *-ni* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

¹⁶⁰ *tī'qa'-s* TO EAT > *tī'qa'-s* (§ 3, 3, b); *-xai-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, b); *-'* . . . *k-wa-* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

¹⁶¹ *tī'qa'-* TO EAT; *-m-au'p-a-* TO FINISH second stem in compound verb (§ 18, 2, a); *-tsi-* < *-ts-* (§ 3, 2, b) gerund (§ 55, 1, a); *-'* . . . *q-wa-* as in note 160.

¹⁶² *cī'pī'-s* incorporated noun COLD with probably instrumental function (§ 18, 2, f, a); *-qīrutca-* TO HAVE A THRILL GO THROUGH ONE'S HEAD; *-qai-* resultative suffix (§ 30, 9); *-p-īyai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-ni'* modal enclitic (§ 19, 2, d).

¹⁶³ *maai-i-* TO TOUCH consisting of instrumental prefix *ma-* (§ 21, 1) and stem *-ai-i-* not occurring independently; *-pīy* as in note 153.

¹⁶⁴ *ts'isi-* < *ts'isi-* (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1; § 3, 2, b) HEAD; *-va-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 38); *-ni-* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a); *-a-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-φ-* unvoiced form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-vī-* reflexive possessive (§ 40, 4). For syntax, see § 55, 4, c.

¹⁶⁵ *ts'o'pī'k-* BRAIN contains instrumental prefix *ts'o-* (§ 21, 8); *-a-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-r'-* contracted (§ 4, 1, f) from *-ru'a-* interrogative enclitic (§ 19, 2, f); *-n* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ni-* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2).

¹⁶⁶ *ḡnu-* TO DO; *-k-a'* palatalized (§ 13, 4) and final (§ 8, 1, e) form of *-qai-* perfective suffix with inferential implication (§ 32, 3).

¹⁶⁷ *tī'qa'-s* TO EAT; *-xa'* final form (§ 8, 1, e) of *-yai-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, b).

¹⁶⁸ Compound verb (§ 18, 2, a). *pi'pī't-a'nu-* reduplicated form (§ 58, 5, c) of momentaneous significance TO VOMIT; *-liyax-* < *-liya-* (§ 3, 3, b; § 8, 2, b; § 10, 1) TO TRY, TO PRACTISE.

¹⁶⁹ *naḡai'ai-* TO BE ANGRY < TO DIE OF ANGER; *naḡa-* ANGER incorporated instrumental noun; *-i'ai-* < *y(a)'ai-* (§ 13, 6) TO DIE.

¹⁷⁰ *ivwī-* hortatory adverb (§ 60, 2, d); *-n* for *-ni* (§ 8, 1, a) subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2), subject of following verb.

¹⁷¹ = *naḡwa'-u pa-* (§ 8, 2, a); *naḡwa-* TRACKS; *-u p'a(-)* postposition (§ 50, 4, 35); *-mpa'amī* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *-mpa-* + *-'* . . . *mī-*; *-mpa-* future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-'* . . . *mī-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4). For use of postpositional phrase as verb of motion, see § 50, 2.

¹⁷² *tivw'ai-* local adverb verbified (§ 60, 2, b); *-m'mua-* suffix of movement (§ 28, 4).

¹⁷³ Secondly lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *'avvū-*; *'av-* TO LIE; *-vū-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5). *'avvū-* TO LIE DOWN MOMENTANEOUSLY > TO CAMP OVER NIGHT.

¹⁷⁴ *naŋga-* TO HEAR; *-p-ŋa'aim'* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *-p-ŋai-* (§ 32, 6) + *-'* . . . *mī-* (§ 40, 3).

¹⁷⁵ *ga-* TO SING; *-m-a-* SEVERAL JOURNEY verb stem generally appearing in compounds (§ 18, 2, a) as plural verb of movement; *-na-* suffix of verbal noun (§ 25, 3); *-'* . . . *m'* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4).

¹⁷⁶ Contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *uw^ua-aya-* *u-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-p^ua-* < *-va-* (§ 14, 3, b) postposition (§ 50, 4, 38); *-aŋa* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2) anticipating following nominal subject WOMAN.

¹⁷⁷ *naŋwī-* < *nīŋwī-* (§ 3, 3, b) PERSON, PEOPLE; *-rīraxwō-* < *-rīraxua-* (§ 3, 1, c) nominal base of compound postposition (§ 50, 4, 28); *-p-a* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-p-a-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 38).

¹⁷⁸ Secondly lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and elided (§ 7, 1) from *mam-a'ut^usi-* WOMAN; *mam-a'u-* reduplicated stem (§ 58, 1); *-tsi-* noun suffix (§ 24, 1, f).

¹⁷⁹ Objective form of independent personal pronoun (§ 39, 1) used genitively (§ 39, 4).

¹⁸⁰ Post-nominal pronoun (§ 42, 4): THE ONE WHOM YOU LIKE, in apposition with preceding WOMAN.

¹⁸¹ *a'c-ntui-* TO LIKE probably containing causative *-ntui-* (§ 29, 12); *-na'a^umi* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *-na-* verbal noun suffix (§ 25, 3) + *-'* . . . *mī-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4). Verbal noun here used as practical equivalent of subjective relative clause see § 45).

¹⁸² *a-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-va* elided (§ 7, 2) from *-va-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 38).

¹⁸³ Independent third personal pronoun (§ 39, 1) used as demonstrative qualifier of following noun.

¹⁸⁴ Elided (§ 7, 1) from *ganu'p-ia-*; *ganu-* HOUSE; *-p-i-* past-passive participial suffix (§ 25, 5, b), here used as temporal noun suffix PAST (§ 24, 3, b); *-a-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1). THAT FORMER CAMPING PLACE is objective because in apposition with *'a-* of *'ava* IT-AT (§ 49, 2).

¹⁸⁵ *pulci-*, *pulci-* TO ARRIVE; *-xw'ai-* suffix of movement (§ 28, 3).

¹⁸⁶ *pu'ca'xai-* TO LOOK FOR contains *pu-* instrumental prefix (§ 21, 4); *-p-ŋai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-aŋ'* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

¹⁸⁷ See note 178. *-tsi* elided (§ 7, 1) and dulled (§ 3, 2, b) from *-tsi-a-*; *-a-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1).

¹⁸⁸ *ŋu-* TO DO; *-xai-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-gai-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, a); *-c-u-* modal enclitic (§ 19, 2, k; § 55, 1, a); *-aŋ'* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3), object of following verb.

¹⁸⁹ *maai-* TO FIND.

¹⁹⁰ *axan-i-* TO ACT HOW? (§ 26, 2, b; § 44, 2, a); *-va-ŋan* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) and elided (§ 7, 1) from *-va-aŋa-ni-*; *-va-* future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-aŋani-* combined subject and objective enclitic pronouns (§ 41, 2, a).

¹⁹¹ Connective adverb (§ 60, 3).

¹⁹² *uŋwa-* animate singular independent personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-vantuŋwa-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 47) verbalized (§ 50, 2); *-ŋu-* voiceless form (§ 8, 2, a) of *-ŋu-* momentaneous suffix with transitional significance (§ 30, 5).

¹⁹³ *saxwa-* STOMACH, BELLY; *-ia-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-'* . . . *ŋu-* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-'* . . . *ŋwa-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4). Objective because referring to following postpositional phrase.

¹⁹⁴ *u-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-v'a'ana* < *-va'ana* (§ 14, 3, b) postposition (§ 50, 4, 47).

¹⁹⁵ *wiwi'n'i-* reduplicated momentaneous form (§ 58, 5, c) of *wini-* TO STAND; *-qu-* inceptive suffix (§ 30, 7).

¹⁹⁶ *ŋu-* TO DO; *-x-* = *-x'u-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) and voiceless (§ 5, 2, a) form of *-ŋu-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, e); *-cu'uŋw* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *-c-u-* modal enclitic (§ 19, 2, k) + *-'* . . . *ŋwa-* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

¹⁹⁷ *wi'i-* TO FALL; *-k'u-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 7).

¹⁹⁸ *iŋa'-* BABY; *-pi-te* < *-pi-tsi-* (§ 7, 1) noun suffixes (§ 24, b and f).

¹⁹⁹ = *u'v'aiyaug-u-* THEN (§ 60, 2, a) + *-'* . . . *ŋwa-* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

²⁰⁰ *y'i'ik-i-* TO SWALLOW; *-pi'ya'aiŋwa* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *-p-i'ya-* (§ 32, 6) + *-'* . . . *ŋwa-* as in note 199.

²⁰¹ *pa(i)yī-*, *pa(i)yu-* TO RETURN; *-k-i-* HITHER (§ 28, 5).

²⁰² *ti'v'ip-i-* EARTH, COUNTRY rounded (§ 3, 3, d) to *ti'v'ip-u-*; *-a-* possessive suffix (§ 24, 2, a); *-ia-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-u-* glide (§ 5, 2); *-φi* voiceless form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-v-i-* reflexive possessive pronoun (§ 40, 4).

²⁰³ Cf. note 173. *-pax-* = *pax-i-* < *-pay(a)i-* (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) TO WALK, as compounded verb stem (§ 18, 2, a) WHILE JOURNEYING, FROM PLACE TO PLACE.

²⁰⁴ *saxwa-* STOMACH incorporated as local noun (§ 18, 2, f, g); *-φa'qaŋqī-* spirantized (§ 16, 1) and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *paq-a-ŋqī-* TO HAVE A PAIN; *-ŋqī-* indirective suffix (§ 29, 11).

²⁰⁵ Elided (§ 7, 1) from *man-i-* TO DO IN THAT WAY (§ 43, 3) here used as demonstrative adverb.

²⁰⁶ *un-i-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-vū-n* < *-va-n* (§ 3, 1, a) future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-ni'i* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a). Participle used in lieu of finite verb (§ 55, 4, e).

²⁰⁷ Unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) from *qumu'ntuar-i-* TO HEAT STONES ON FIRE containing instrumental prefix *qu-* (§ 21, 12).

²⁰⁸ See note 15. *-mī-* AFTER (§ 30, 13).

²⁰⁹ = *wa'a'p-i'a* objective form (§ 49, 1) of *wa'ap-i-* CEDAR TREE; *wa'a-* CEDAR; *-p-i-* noun suffix for plants (§ 24, 1, e). Object used genitively (§ 49, 2) with following noun.

²¹⁰ *pa'pa'raŋga-* LIMB, BRANCH reduplicated noun (§ 58, 1). *-i* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ya-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1).

²¹¹ *o-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-ma* postposition (§ 50, 4, 7).

²¹² *pīri'rī-* TO HANG ON of durative form (§ 30).

²¹³ *yu-* TO DO; *-xu-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-yu-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, e); *-'* . . . *yu* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-'* . . . *ywa-* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2).

²¹⁴ *m^wu-* adverbial stem FAR AWAY (§ 60, 2, b); *-t'yan-i'* < *-t'yan-ia-* (§ 3, 3, b; § 8, 1) local adverbial suffix (§ 60, 2, b).

²¹⁵ *qu'qwa-* WOOD incorporated as object (§ 18, 2, f, γ), absolute form *qu'qwa'-p-i*; *iyona-* (§ 13, 6) TO CARRY IN ONE'S ARM; *-yw'ai-* suffix of movement (§ 28, 3); *-yu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5).

²¹⁶ *na'ai-* TO BURN; *-t-i-* contracted (§ 4, 1, c) from *-t-ui-* causative suffix (§ 29, 12); *-p'iy'a'aik-wa* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *-p'iyai-* (§ 32, 6) and *-'* . . . *k-wa-* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

²¹⁷ Cf. note 207. *-qai-* perfective suffix (§ 32, 3); *-na-* suffix of verbal noun (§ 25, 3); *-v* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-vi-* reflexive possessive pronoun (§ 40, 4).

²¹⁸ *u-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-v^wa'a-x* < *-va'a-yi-* (§ 14, 3, b; § 7, 1) postposition (§ 50, 4, 46).

²¹⁹ *yu-t-ui-* TO BE WARM (in reference to water). *-tci'* = *-tci'a*; *-tci-* participial suffix assibilated (§ 13, 3) from *-ti-*, *-ri* (§ 25, 6, a); *-a* objective suffix (§ 49, 1) Objective in form to agree with following noun.

²²⁰ Elided (§ 7, 1) from *pa-ia-*, *pa-ya-*; *pa-* WATER; *-ya-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1).

²²¹ *iwi-* TO DRINK.

²²² Contracted (§ 4, 1, d), assimilated (§ 3, 3, f), and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *tsi-i'q-uŋ'wa nĩmpĩ-ru-*; *tsi-* < *tsi-* (§ 3, 2, b) instrumental prefix (§ 21, 9); *-iq-uŋ'wa-* (?) verb stem used with prefix *tsi-* to indicate TO SCRATCH THE HEAD WITH A STICK; *-nĩmpĩ-* suffix of noun of instrument (§ 25, 2); *-ru-* verbalizing suffix TO MAKE (§ 26, 1, d).

²²³ Secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2) and elided (§ 7, 1) from *uma-*; *u-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-ma-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 9).

²²⁴ *nan-* reflexive prefix (§ 22, 1); *-tsi'x-quŋ'a-* probably < *-tsi'-iq-uŋ'wa-* (§ 3, 2, b; § 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) see note 222.

²²⁵ Elided (§ 7, 1) from *i'i'n-i-* TO DO IN THIS WAY (§ 43, 3), here used as demonstrative adverb.

²²⁶ *nĩ-* PERSON, HUMAN BEING incorporated object (§ 18, 2, f, γ); *-ntua-* nasalized form (§ 16, 3) of *tua-* TO GIVE BIRTH denominative verb from *tua-* CHILD (of some one) (§ 47); *-ŋqĩ-* indirective suffix (§ 29, 11); *-yu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5); *-ts-* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-tsi-* gerund (§ 55, 1, a).

[TRANSLATION].

Coyote, it is said, was living there. His wife said to him, "Go and get squaw-bush twigs for me, who am going to make a gathering-basket, I say, out of them." "All right," said Coyote, and then he journeyed off in yonder direction towards his squaw-bush. He was very far away (when) he heard singing. "Oh!" said Coyote, "it looks as though I am going to be a medicine-man; perhaps I am going to dream. Already I am a medicine-man." And then he stood and listened, did not hear it. And then he started off. Then he heard it again, stopped again. Now again he stood and listened to it; this time he already heard well the singing of many: "Thus we do, traveling in order to eat people," said they, singing along under the sky, those geese, as they flew along. The two chiefs stood at either end of the line as they travelled along. Coyote saw them, and then he said, "Of all the camping places—those with springs, those with mountains, those with divides, those with knolls, those with valleys—all their people I know. Do you then make me into one of yourselves, and I shall lead you," said Coyote. "What did Coyote say?" said they, asking one another. "He says that he knows all those lands towards which we are going." That chief of theirs then said, "Let that Coyote talk, he is not a good one. He will cause us to be found out."

Coyote ran along under them, shouted as he went along, "Oh," said their chief, "in doing so he might cause us to be found out. Let each one of us give him feathers," said their chief. And then down on to Coyote they flew. Coyote kept dodging. Each one gave him feathers; they said to Coyote, "Go ahead! fly off towards that little ridge, and from it then you will return." "All right," said Coyote, and off he flew, flew beyond the little ridge. "What did I say?" said their chief. "That Coyote will always be doing thus, he will not obey us." Coyote returned from the other side of the little ridge, arrived where they were. Then that chief said, "You shall not keep flying around us, you shall not yell, you shall not sing out loud." "All right," said Coyote.

All set off flying towards the sky; westward, then, they flew off whither they were bound. Coyote flew back and forth around them. Then their chief said, "Let us pull out his feathers. By doing that (which he is doing) he will cause us to be found out." And then they took hold of him under the sky and pulled out his feathers. Down

came Coyote, making a whizzing noise; he fell upon the earth and lay senseless. Then, after a while, he came to. He saw mush. "Oh!" said he, "my friends, it seems, have given me mush," he said, as he ate it.

Then, after a while, when he had finished eating it, he felt as though a cold thrill went through his head; and then he touched his head. "Oh!" said Coyote, "is it my own brains that I have been eating?" said he. He tried to vomit. Coyote got angry (and said), "Now I will follow in their tracks." Coyote journeyed westward, he camped several nights on his way. Then, after a while, he heard them as they moved along singing. "Coyote," they said, "there in the midst of the people lies the woman whom you like." "All right," said Coyote. There at that old camping place he arrived. He looked for the woman and, in so doing, found her. "What, then, shall I do to her?" said Coyote. He got on top of her, stood stamping on her stomach. Just as he did so, that baby fell out.

"What, now, shall I do with him?" said Coyote. And then he swallowed him, and he turned back towards his own country. Again he camped several nights on his way; he had a stomach-ache. "In that way will it always be with a woman," said Coyote. And then he heated stones on the fire. After doing so, he hung on to a cedar limb; as he did so, the baby dropped down. Then he went off to a considerable distance for an armful of wood. He arrived, built a fire of it. He lay on top of the bed made of rocks that he had heated; he drank warm water. Then he made a head-scratcher and scratched his head with it. "In this way shall it be with a woman when she has given birth to a child," said Coyote.

